

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

Edited by

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With Comments by

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MANDAS □ CALCUTTA

SWADESHI AND BOYCOTT

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COMMENTS

Swadeshi & Boycott, the book edited by Netaji Subhas Chandra Bose was first published in 1931, when India was a hot-bed of anti-imperialist struggle, and its people remained in a boiling point of their agitation and out-burst. Swadeshi & Boycott Movement, i. e. to start with indigenous products in one hand and to give up the foreign goods on the other was a political movement with a cultural aspect and of other social implications. It was the core, the infrastructure of the entire freedom movement, contributed by the people of the country irrespective of caste & creed, race & religion. This was the movement which put an effort to collapse the British Raj economically, and also partially succeeded. It was a strategy something different, a programme of some other dimensions. Subhas Chandra's 'Swadeshi & Boycott' is the document, perhaps only document of this parallel front line struggle.

The Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 may most appropriately be called a great landmark in the history of the Indians ; no less so in the history of the British rule in India. Scholars differ as to the cause of this historical event, but the effect was as deep as it was stupendous. It laid a violent impress upon Indian life and thought and action. People seemed to have come out of the miasma ; their micawberism was shattered to pieces ; the servile life in slumber got a sudden jolt ; it broke ; they awoke. This awakening was their pristine renaissance. It marks the dawn of a new ferment—the blazing gusto of breaking the chain. Indian freedom movement gets its *primum mobile* and this is one of the two faces of the said mutiny. The other is the manoeuvring of the-then British administrative organisation in India commensurate with the advance of public life and the march of its intellect. That means, a highly sophisticated repressive machinery in bureaucratic set-up had been constituted ; Laws and Acts also were passed to make the same machinery stronger yet. Of course the alien rulers' own security here, and prolongation and permanence of their dominance, i. e. exploitation, were their ultimate aim. 1857 bears such a towering ballast and a crucial significance.

After the year, about two hundred cases of movements and

rebellions, treasons and revolts in the country at the instance of the peasants and agricultural labourers may be considered as the inevitable consequence of the Mutiny. Indeed Lord Cornwallis contributed an acclamatory flux to the stream which opens another important chapter of the history of India.

But these several revolts at different times, in most cases, were granular in character ; so before assuming a form had broken into segments and ultimately got mangled and ruined, even though at places, they were at tooth and nail. Lack of organisational technicalities and well-knit political thought jointly and severally brought about their failure. This way or that they failed, but a fierce agitation against the British Raj lashed into fury in every sphere of social life, and an inherent unrest underflowed the entire country. During the concluding years of the nineteenth century the National Congress emerged as a wide platform and a common fulcrum of expression of the mass-storm, where they knit their dream, their imagination, their thought of and aspiration for freedom, though at that time the role of the Congress was virtually statement-based and its strategy was to lodge paper-war for which it failed to keep the people under control and give them active mobility with a wise directive. But people were ready to jump over ; they were mad with a feverish urge for doing something, their blood was constantly being boiled, the patriotic spirit was set fire to and nothing short of a positive action would smother this warmth. At this psychological moment the Swadeshi and Boycott movement and Bengal anti-partition movement were declared and freedom movement received a new momentum. The second one was short-lived, only from 1905 to 1911. But Swadeshi and Boycott movement flang over to a wider area ; its well-defined programme of economy had the embers that could blaze a political fire ; it had such threads as could bind the middle-class people with the labouring class and the peasantry, the businessmen and merchants and industrialists together to launch a more well-reasoned, widely calculated and sharp-edged aggression. In fact, the Swadeshi and Boycott movement survived as a continuous process, an uninterrupted mechanism for the entire complex, a reserve of fuel for igniting India's freedom fight and that ultimately under the leadership of Subhas Chandra Bose.

We may swing back to the Commercial Geography of the nineteenth century India for some while. It was indeed a legend for the Indian commodities to be commodities in the world-market in the seventeenth century. Even during the full run of the British administration and bureaucracy in 1855, India's foreign trade marked a good shot of Rs. 52 lakhs annually. The opening of the Suez Canal made the trap-door, a wide-open gate of freer movement of foreign trade. Within five years since 1859 the amount of import-export trade of India rose to Rs. 90 crores, 200 crores in 1900 and at the end of 1928-29 it crossed the scale of Rs. 600 crores per year. Of Rs. 52 lakhs of foreign trade during 1855, import shared 30 percent only, the rest 70 percent was consumed by export business, a major part of which was finished goods. Raw materials were too little to count. A few of the 30 percent imported articles were essential commodities and the rest were sent back after being used as materials for the exportable finished goods. This peculiar but over-profiteering business structure did not escape the sight of the trade-expert British. Britain then built up an unconventional barricade in her own land against the Indian export and that with the charlatanism that for legal and other matters of law they were undone with the Indian finished goods but ready to pay interest for the raw materials. During 1880 to 1885 it was observed that the stream reverted its direction from the north to the south pole in a seemly kinematics. India then started exporting of Jute, Cotton, Oilseeds and Tea and importing a lot of finished goods in return. Cotton sailed for Britain and other parts of Europe and readymade clothes were imported in exchange. In the same way Jute in exchange of various jute-products. This trend not only triggered a change in economic structure but shuffled the social set-up and the general life of common people absolutely. Their habits and tastes took a varied course, similarly their likings and favours. As a result the Indian-mades were relegated from the households, they welcomed the foreign flavour. The people of the modern India will fall in a feat of nostalgic surprise that in the list of the imported goods were included mainly silk and woollen clothes, fashionable leather goods, glass materials like cup-dish, pots and others, paper and paper boards, stationery goods, toys and sports goods, all types of watches and clocks, cigarettes and tobacco and finally scents. The ascetic life of India by slow paces began to crave for luxury goods and

bi-cycle, motor cycle and motor cars made their appearance in pompous fashion parade. Some essential commodities like matches, umbrella, sewing machine, iron and aluminium wire, nibs, torch-lights and kerosene oil etc. came to the Indian market in a procession. The things quite unimaginable till 1857, got hold during 1880-90 silently, a reciprocity like a cruel mockery ; people seemed to be in a hypnotic trance ; they could not do without them. Indian art and culture, indeed the entire Indian heritage faced a great threat. This reversed trend of foreign trade smacked a gradual decomposition of the inherent norms of the traditional Indian life. Of course it is to be admitted that the superficial coats of vindictive social norms, the superstitious, horrid and loathsome expression of religious thoughts of darkened India were skied down with the gush of this nineteenth century west wind, but the gush had simultaneously acted upon India's trade and industry and pushed it back into an arena of competition and collapse. The industrialists and businessmen of the country heard their death-knell. So they tried to unite in a silent process, but on account of their ignorance and isolation, their previous non-interest and simple-profiteering attitudes, this last moment attempt could not fructuate.

Till 1905 Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was a composite state under one Lt. Governor. Lord Curzon thought that this territory of about 189,000 square miles, was too large a unit to be efficiently administered, and decided to re-organize the provincial boundaries. It was, in fine, settled that Dacca, Chittagong and Rajshahi divisions were to be segregated from the province and be joined to Assam and a new province, East Bengal, constituted with Dacca as its Capital. Lord Curzon produced an aroma of welfare-words, which could hardly convince the people of Bengal as they apprehended two in-deep motives of the partition. One is that, the intellectuals of Bengal would be divided, who were the torch-bearers of the anti-British movement ; the second one was to arrest the blazing patriotic fire of Bengal being spread over other states. So a roar of vehement protest, and a vigorous movement. As mentioned earlier, the injured traders, businessmen and industrialists got an opportunity and they did not miss it again ; they too joined hands with the revolting common men. The demand for ruling out the partition programme became more keen and boisterous ; and boycotting of

foreign goods was the fervent appeal to the people. They launched the Boycott Movement.

Boycotting of foreign goods and buying of Swadeshi ones went on side by side in their propaganda campaign. It was a good fuel too to add to the fire of national movement. This determined the urge for indigenous production and the structure of the country's industry. The Congress session of 1926 had to make and accept a resolution to that effect, resulting in the acceleration of the movement and suppression-attempt of the same from the ruling party. Torture dodged upon the people, police outrage became fierce and grave ; thousands were arrested and put behind the prison bar. There atrocities and humiliations made the people more aggressive and more firm in resistance. A section of the revolutionaries was eager to retaliate ; and finally anarchist movement came to being. The Press too rose to the occasion and in fiery language began to speak ill of the police-action. The British Raj had no way but to pass the Indian Press Act (1910), the first official expedition against Indian Newspapers. In 1911 the Government was forced to put off the decision of Bengal partition though it was reconstituted and Bengal lost its hold upon Manbhum, Mayurbhanj and Goalpara, and here ended the anti-partition movement, a gallant piece of the history of freedom struggle.

A gallant piece, indeed, because in this chapter was also taken part of by a cultural flood of the same tune ; by the storm which inspired people with the songs of Mukunda Das, our great minstrel. The Tagore family, particularly the leadership of Jyotirindranath and Rabindranath Tagore initiated the Boycott Movement from a cultural standpoint and pulled up the unity among varied religions, among people of different segments. It played over from poetry to procession, plays to protest.

But boycott movement continued. Nine years later, in 1920, Gandhiji called out the Non-Co-operation movement from the Calcutta Congress. Boycott of Legislature, Court and all educational institutions were invoked ; the call was for not to pay taxes as well. Swarajya (i.e. independence), came into being as a viable and forceful plea at this very session. No doubt the movement reshaped its character from sentiment to a definite and concrete political basis. In the Council election of November 1920 two-thirds of the voters turned their ballots down, students boycotted

their Schools and Colleges, Mr. Chittaranjan Das and Pandit Motilal Nehru gave up their practice in the Bar. Calcutta, Dacca, Bombay and Ahmedabad observed daily-festives of setting fire to the foreign cloths. During this volcanic eruption of national intolerance Prince of Wales arrived in India, on November 17, 1921. People of the country welcomed him with a country-wide general strike led by Subhas Chandra. The British Government assumed its usual form and onerous repression went on unbridled ; it resorted to a non-challant ruthless measure, a reign of terror throughout. Amidst this gory turmoil the Ahmedabad Congress of 1921 reaffirmed the resolution of continuing the movement. The gall and warm-wood of the catastrophe moved at least one British observer who noted that this national movement was not only converted into a revolutionary one, but was held to the popular esteem also. Spasmodic direct confrontations at places, kicks and counter-hits were frequent happenings those days, and all of them began to appear at the front page columns of the newspapers with prominent captions. The dimension of the movement abruptly widened. People of Gorakhpur in Uttar Pradesh attacked the police station of Chouri-Choura ; it was entirely reduced to ashes. Twenty two police-men were killed. Gandhiji called off the movement the very next day with the argument that the principle of non-violence had been violated and violence had taken place upon the strings. The whole country got a blow quite unaware. Subhas Chandra himself was moved with bitter chagrin. He remarked, 'To sound the order of retreat just when public enthusiasm was reaching the boiling point was nothing short of national calamity'. Jawharlal too stated in a feat of excitement, 'We in prison learnt, to our amazement and consternation, that Gandhiji had stopped the aggressive aspect of our struggle..... If this was the inevitable consequence of sporadic act of violence, then surely there was something lacking in the philosophy and technique of a non-violent struggle.' But Gandhiji stood firm in his decision. The freedom movement of India seemingly plunged into an indolent siesta for a considerable period.

In June 1927, five years after a political slump, Subhas Chandra returned from Mandalay, Burma, after suffering three years term of imprisonment and the Congress redeemed itself in warmth again and in the Madras Conference moved and accepted a resolution of 'Complete Independence' along with the boycotting of the Simon

Commission which was then constituted to review the constitutional reforms or the like in India. Again a country-wide general strike was observed on February 3, 1928, on the day of the Commission's arrival; people came out with the slogan: Go back, Simon. Clashes took place in different parts of the country and at Lahore police-assault caused the death of Lala Lajpat Rai, one of the front-rank leaders of India's freedom-movement. Gandhiji amended the question of 'Complete Independence', as he frequently did, that, if the British Government agreed with the 'Nehru Constitution' in its entirety within December 31 1929, the Congress was ready to accept Dominion Status; and quite reasonably from their own standpoint the proposal was turned down by the British Government. The Lahore Congress of 1929 again gave a call of boycotting the Legislature and the Round Table Conference, though Gandhiji himself tried his utmost to attend the conference, which Subhas Chandra in person firmly opposed. The volume of this boycott movement further extended to the Salt Act Movement of 1930; the country again became mad with the fire-festivities with the imported fashion pieces and luxury goods. Gandhiji might have been complacent to see the burning fruition of his own thought, but each and every Indian realized the impossibility of continuing the fight and winning the battle unarmed against the armed police and the force. This cross-current of thoughts fragmented the people of the country at least into two major factions of followers of divergent ideologies—violence and non-violence. The Chittagong Armoury Raid in 1930 which has contributed an unparalleled chapter to the history of India's freedom struggle, though infinitesimal as compared to the dream of making a sub-continent-like country free, was a pointer that the impetuous revolutionary spirit no longer remained embeded in idea, the seed was bearing fruit too.

Gandhiji decided to suspend the movement again in the context of the Second Round Table Conference (the Gandhi-Irwin pact), the failure of which Subhas Chandra apprehended before-hand and it so happened. The movement suffered another set back. But 1932 renewed the boycott movement. The supine popular spirit awoke. The whole country whetted with agitation and arrogance. The Govt. let loose its hunting hounds, and the massacre of the mass is a blood-stained chapter of British atrocity in India. The

Congress was banned. Gandhiji, Subhas Chandra and many other leaders were put to the jail indiscriminately. The movement took a different turn. The Civil Disobedience movement came into being.

The story brings it to the limelight that the nucleus of Indian struggle for freedom were Swadeshi and Boycott movements, and these generated power and transmitted it over to the people of the country in a uniform frequency. In one phase Subhas Chandra held a strong and meteoric leadership. After the Chauri Choura incident of 1922 marked with Gandhiji's retreat, the country seemed to repose in the silence of grave ; people, broken in heart and hope, sometimes scrupled with the leadership. But a man of Subhas Chandra's mantle cannot rest in peace. He framed his own plan within himself, not paper-programmes but something more puissant and more perspicuous, only consolidation of strength i.e, manpower was what was needed. He knew that by rousing the deep-seated anti-British feeling only the objective would be reached. That ground-work had already been done by so many years' practice of the boycott movements. Subhas Chandra was released from the jail in 1927 and he formed the Bengal Swadeshi League under his own Presidentship. No doubt people had faith in him and his leadership ; they thronged behind him.

Subhas Chandra was a born leader and a conscious one too. Vociferous statements he abhorred ; but he laid stress on some statistics and documents which would manifest before the people that their movement of twenty years, since 1905, was not without an effect, that for that movement our British lords, indeed the whole British empire had fallen in a grim economic crisis, and that was the only cause of their barbaric rage ; that this crisis had to be elongated and spread far and wide, and the userper would lose balance and the anvil would shift away from beneath their feet. According to Bose's speculation, at this psychological hour the peoples' army would jump over and the British Raj would sail back. With this inevitable eventuality in view the Bengal Swadeshi League went on with its study ; emblazoning the movement would remain in its onward move along with. Subhas Chandra chalked out the background in a nut-shell in his introduction which is the only key-note of all the informations.

By accumulating heaps of statistics and accounts of India's foreign trade of about thirty years, Subhas Chandra tried to draw a quadruplex conclusion :

Number one, after the first world war, when Britain had to face tremendous economic disaster, crippled with administrative structure in a numerical order ; as for the great Coal Miners' strike in 1926 which received a wide support from a number of Indian Nationalist Newspapers, Britons were forced to share more and more taxes in addition to some new duties and the Government of Great Britain repeatedly attempted to shift the cause of this disaster over to the war than admitting its failure in policy and in counter-acting the Boycott Movement in India. It was Britain's appeal before her people to consider the impact of the war and to co-operate with the Government in the reconstruction programme of the country than to bargain on socio-political affairs and launching movement. Subhas Chandra exclusively pointed out that it was Britain's false cry to cover its wounds. As much as it had lost in war, of course more it was losing for the Boycott Movement. Number of unemployed in Britain rose to 62 lakhs in the year 1926, seven years after the world war, due to closure of several industries. Britain never had such a stern and bold hit, not even from the eclipse of the war as thrown by the Boycott Movement in India.

Secondly, Subhas Chandra clearly underlined the difference between 1905 and 1921, the two phases of Boycott Movement, which were diametrically opposite to each other. The 1905 movement was basically emotional, on the other hand it became more rational in 1921. The former was rather scattered and indisciplined, while the latter was very much strategic ; it had kinetic energy without a blue-print in the first quarter and was more or less sharp and matured during the thirties. More-over this chapter of the movement lifted the people of India upon a dynamic political fleet. In the conclusion of the book it was thus remarked with falcity that this movement was not only political in its character, but something more than that.

Thirdly, Subhas Chandra emphasised that anti-partition movement of 1905 was a temporary issue and was originally patronised by the Boycott Movement like an undercurrent in the sea. After the withdrawal of the anti-partition agitation Boycott Movement

came to the forefront as comes the bright moon from under the floating cloud. It ensembled all classes of people and of all ages with a tide towards the sea, involved a greater section of the people with the freedom movement in a more comprehensive manner and felicitated the taste of political theories and political values.

Fourthly, Subhas Chandra time and again emphatically made specific mention that the Boycott Movement had been taken the *le pas* of by Bengal alone; that the massive force and action were infused by this province exclusively; that the contribution of impetuous vigour to by other provinces of the country was but tolerable. The despair after 1911 made them battered, sometimes loll in the lap of luxury and their energy cankered. The feeble pulsation of their nerves immediately before 1922 seemed to have collapsed after the accursed year, while Bengal rejuvenated herself with the infusion of fresher bloods everyday and the stir of life remained simmering with the electric motion of the 'Swadeshi'. Even when the whole Country was frolicing with the likings and dislikings of the foreign goods, Bengal had been making almost a daily celebration of burning them quite unperplexed. From the beginning to the end Bengal hold the Boycott Movement in high esteem with uniform attitude with splendid skill and consistent effort. Her leadership, her contribution to the freedom movement is an unparalleled episode.

My annexation : The Boycott Movement as a whole was a spontaneous explosion of the patriotic fire of the people in chains groaning in Promethean pang and fire does not wait for any bidding. Whenever Imperial scourge of suppression got the better of it and freedom movement dawdled, call of Boycott Movement silently broke through as an invigorating palliative. Whenever political leaders had posed a retreat or vacillated in indecision, it is the common people who flung the banner, the tri-coloured national flag, shouting slogans in pitch voice and the movement moved on under their own leadership at their own decree. The movement remained alive with its unending virility, and finally met with their beloved leaders at cross-roads. Let us cast our glance at a press-report of Forward of 1st March 1926 : 'Vehement protest against the indefinite detention without trial of the pick of Bengali youths were made at a public meeting held yesterday evening at Sraddhananda Park. It was urged at the meeting that protests had failed to achieve

their purpose. The people should now set to forge the weapon of economic boycott in right earnest and use it relentlessly till through pressure on the means of the existence of the Britishers they were compelled to awake to a sense of fair justice and set free the political prisoners'. This was the Boycott Movement, a self-sprung venture of the people.

Two more points on Boycott Movement are to be made mention of here. Boycott Movement, number one, was nothing new as a strategy. As a weapon for the freedom-movement it was first used in United States in 1775 with a duration of one year and a half which stirred the entire nation and brushed it into a mighty sword. In 1898 the call of boycott movement in Ireland continued for three years and despite all differences in thought and action, the various political parties and groups of Ireland met together and pushed the country towards such a granite rigidity that it resulted in a complete political upheaval and De Valera came to power in 1916, the man with whom was a close connection of Subhas Chandra. China too experienced boycott movement in 1919 which continued for more than a decade. A series of movements China had to face, viz. down with foreign language and the student movement with the demand of restoring their vernacular Pai-hua, then boycott of foreign goods specially British, which ultimately was converted into an insurrection like the great opium war. Forward, Subhas Chandra's own News Daily, remarked with a quote of one British writer on July 18, 1916;already the extremely valuable silk trade with Canton, which was formerly handle at HongKong, has been diverted to Sanghai... this is one of the more serious aspects of the situation. For trade deflected in this way will be difficult to recover, and if this state of affairs continues much longer Britain's commercial pre-eminence in the Far East will be a thing of the past. Encouraged by such tremendous success of the boycott movement a Chinese leader had declared, 'In dealing with foreigners, continue the severence of economic relation with the British. We firmly believe that some day we will overthrow British imperialism.' Forward thus noted: This gives a clue to the British Government's anxiety to open negotiations with the Chinese authorities for ending the boycott... The history of Chinese boycott of economic relation with Britain is not certainly without its reasons for Indians.

Number two; the notion behind the Boycott Movement, i. e. to

instate the indigenous products as a viable alternative of foreign goods, to equip India's own industry with strength and vigour, to open some new avenues of employment for the countrymen still remain a far cry. Even after three decades of independence various commodities, from defence to life-saving drugs, from heavy water of nuclear project to the raw materials of cottage industry, are completely dependent on the process of import and foreign aid, while the production of most of these materials in India was not a hard task. Except oil, nuclear material and electronic equipments, the import business of India consist of so many minor articles which bogged down the entire organism of small industry and employment, the working of the labour process, consequently the lives of the working people ; and the country would hardly be in a position to dislodge its economic captivity. It is an interesting feature that, when India is exporting radar to some countries of the world, it is importing raw materials for its production almost from the same countries. It is a peculiar method that can hardly be defined in a comprehensive order. It is clear that there is a gang which is playing the game and it is so powerful and influential, with whose dictates the entire import-business of India is going on, accumulating fortune too is going on unabated at the cost of the whole country, and the Government is undone to bring the gang to book for some mysterious reasons. Indeed, the high ideal established by the Boycott Movement and the fruit earned for more than three decades have totally been ruined and no measure can regain it now ; and it is a matter of great regret. When the Finance Ministry admits that it is going up-setted by a serious onslaught in the foreign exchange reserve and that it is mainly due to the increase in imports and deadlock in export-promotion, it is then needless to account for the hopeless position of our industry sector ; failure looms large on its head, our economy leans, our industry fails ; everywhere a grim and gloomy picture. In spite of grotesque planning and spending thousands of crores, our doomsday is not far behind. We must change the very method and approach, we must reach the roof. To arrest economic destruction, we must invoke the Boycott Movement once again. If the Indian people are to save their industry, if they are to rebuild their economy Boycott Movement shall be an effective launch on to the target. The verve of the Boycott Movement is still there ; it needs only to put a fire to.

Subhas Chandra held the Presidentship of *Bengal Swadeshi League*, formed in 1930 with Lalit Mohan Das as the Vice-President, Kiran Sankar Roy General Secretary and Anandji Haridas, treasurer. In his introduction Subhas Chandra has made mention of one Research Section of the League, consisting of Dr. Jitendranath Sengupta, Dr. Nalinakshaya Sanyal, Dr. Surhid Mitra and Dr. Harish Chandra Sinha. The name of Dr. Sinha has been mentioned in the introduction also. Subhas Chandra in its conclusion had noted the address, 1 Woodburn Park, though the office of the League was not there ; it might be somewhere in the College Street Market at Calcutta. Subhas Chandra further noted that the publication 'Swadeshi and Boycott' was the first one and the league would come out very soon with a number of booklets which was almost ready or like that. But no more publication was there and this was first and surely the last document on the Boycott Movement of our country. In 1931 Second Round Table Conference, in 1932 Subhas Chandra's illness and in 1933 his forced departure from the country for Austria—all these things changed the scene in a dramatic way. In 1936 Subhas Chandra returned. His departure abroad was not a pleasure-trip but served a definite purpose. He came in contact with the intellectuals of international reputation like Rolland, De Valera and others whose opinions carried weight in national, international, economic, political and philosophical hemispheres. Subhas Chandra had come back a different man altogether, with thoughts and ideas bathed in super-dynamism—the conviction of armed revolution.

The book was first published on 26th January, 1931. This day had been observed as independence day and on this very day Subhas Chandra was arrested for leading a procession. This incident is also a very notable piece of history. The book was first printed fifty years ago and none had the slightest curiosity about this obscure, but very important document for such a long time. One interesting feature of the book is that of the two copies of the book of the same edition, I have come across, one bears the name of the printer and publisher Mr. Bijoli Kanti Ghosh, and the other without having any mention of any name whatsoever. I could not find out the identity of Mr. Bijoli Kanti Ghosh, but two separate forms of the book and of the same edition still remains an enigma. Was Mr. Ghosh arrested when the book was in the press during the last

phase of its publication ? Or was it banned unofficially, that Subhas Chandra was forced to publish the book without the printer's line violating the press act ? My searches and researches could not explore any such evidence.

It is being reprinted fifty years hence. Long, long fifty years—half a century ! The pages of history are a heap of carcass on which were hovering vultures,—pages besmeared with the blood of the martyrs of the Indian freedom fight and we are trying to have a sacred touch of that holy pilgrimage with tearful eyes ; with trembling heart is our feeble attempt to have in our flaccid nerves a boiling sensation of a day, a chapter, an age, and an era roasted of promise and patriotism, of blood and gunpowder.

I must remain grateful to Prof. Ashoke Mustafa, the pioneer personality in this field, who helped me in various ways in getting hold of this obscure chapter of history and in making a just and rational evaluation. He is a good friend of mine, and surely my very good teacher. I'm also indebted to Sri Jyotindra Mohon Bhattacharaya who gave me the blue signal of the right way at the right time. It will only be lessening his worth if I try to suffix so many attributive adjuncts to the affectionate aid he has given to me. My highest gratitude remains reserved for my most revered Acharaya Sri Bisweswar Nandi who has taken the pains of making me speak what I intended to through this introductory ; if it could acquire any quality of readableness, it is his. His valuable time I have usurped and paid him strenuous labour in his ripened age. To feel the bygone sensation of remaining a student of his is a most proud recollection and an exstatic joy and I ever long to remain so to him. And surely credit goes to Dr. Swaraj Sen Gupta, Mr. Monoj Sircar, Mr. V. N. Joshi, Mr. Tarun Bhattacharaya and Mr. Biswaroop Mukherjee for taking the pages of publishing the book of great national importance, who took this venture as a task for the nation, a duty to the country.

RATHIN CHAKRABORTY

INTRODUCTION

In December last year, the Bengal Swadeshi League was started in Calcutta with a view to co-ordinating the activities of businessmen, industrialists, economists & national workers for the furtherance of Swadeshi in this country, specially in Bengal. The League has already appointed several selection committees such as those conducting Research & Propaganda & for compiling a Directory.

The present bulletin is the outcome of the labours of the Research Section, specially of the Hony. Secretary, Dr. H. Sinha. Other bulletins are in course of preperation & will be soon published.

The bulletin is based mainly on official statistics, both British and Indian, relating to Indo-British trade. An attempt has been made to estimate the position, in Bengal separately as far as possible. It should be noted, however, that for the purpose of the allocation of the total imports of the country, India is officially divided into only five territories, v'z. Bengal, Bombay, Burma, Madras and Sind. Thus a portion of the trade of Assam and of Bihar & Orissa is included in the Bengal trade in this bulletin in the same way as in official statistics returns.

In every case all-India figures have also been given. It will be seen that the declines in the imports of British manufacturers have been heavy & widespread. Recent figures indicate more & more effective Boycott. For instance, it has been shown in Chapter III that grey piece goods imported during October this year have been less than one-tenth of the imports during the corresponding period last year.

How the position in Bengal compares with that in the rest of India will appear from Chapter II Section C & Chapter III. Contrary to popular notions, official statistics show that Boycott has been far more effective in Bengal than in the rest of India. One reason for this misconception is undoubtedly the fact that the movement is not so spectacular in Bengal as in other parts of the country, but it should be remembered that the boycott movement is not something new in Bengal & methods in vogue elsewhere may not always to be found necessary here.

Even the spectacular side has not been wholly ignored for among the Indian provinces Bengal has sent the largest number of civil resisters to prison. Her record in other items of the national programme is not inconsiderable. In any case, it will be interesting to follow the official figures given below :

TABLE 1

Statement showing variations in the Chief Heads of Revenue in Bengal (figures are in thousands of Rs).

| Head | Actuals 1929-30 | Budget 1930-31 | Diff | Six months preliminary Actuals 1929-30 1930-31 | | | Diff |
|--------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------|---------------------------------------------------------|----------|--------|------|
| Land Revenue | 3,24,74 | 3,29,48 | +4,74 | 1,10,42 | 92,80 | —18,02 | |
| Excise | 2,26,25 | 2,28,00 | +1,75 | 1,08,90 | 88,37 | —20,53 | |
| Stamps | 3,39,89* | 3,56,00 | +16,11 | 1,84,00* | 1,75,80† | —8,60 | |
| Forest | 30,52 | 28,61 | — 1,91 | 11,52 | 8,88 | —2,64 | |

*Excludes windfall from Yule Estate 52,08

† Includes windfall from Yule Estate 10,00

TABLE 2

Estimate of the total probable Revenue & Expenditure of the province for 1930-31, based on five months actuals (and in the cases of Important revenue heads on six months preliminary actuals) and estimates for the Remaining period of the year.

(Figures are in thousands of Rs.)

| Heads | Actuals 1923-30 | Budget 1930-31 | Estimate 1930-31 | Difference |
|-------------------|--------------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------|
| Income | 11,17,59 | 11,73,30 | 10,78,48 | —98,82 |
| In hand | 2,23,09 | 1,87,27 | 2,08,93* | +21,66 |
| (opening Balance) | | | | |
| Total | 14,00,68 | 13,60,57 | 12,87,41 | —73,16 |
| Expenditure | 12,05,24 | 12,60,56 | 12,51,52 | — 9,08 |
| In hand | 1,95,44 | 1,00,01 | 35,89† | —64,12 |
| (opening Balance) | | | | |

* Actuals include 13,50 from Road Fund

† Includes 8,75 from Road Fund and 12,75 from Famine Relief

Thus even when comparison is made with last years actual figures instead of this year's budget figures, as has been officially done in table 1, Land Revenue has declined by 17%, Excise Revenue by 19% & Forest Revenue by 23% during the first half of the financial year. It is only the windfall from the Yule Estate which saved Stamps from still a greater collapse. The figures in table 2 indicate that instead of a credit balance of Rs. 21,66,000 with which the year opened, there will be a debit balance of Rs. 64,12,000 at the end of the year, even when other funds such as the Famine Relief Fund are raided, as is prososed, in vilation of all canons of public finance.

I take this opportunity of conveyings my warmest thanks to Sri Taranath Roy, who kindly saw the pamphlet through the press in the most adverse circumstances.

1, Woodburn Park,
Calcutta, 26, January 1931

Subhas Chandra Bose
President, Bengal Swadeshi League

I

DISTRIBUTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE

A. IMPORTS—(i) VALUES (ii) PERCENTAGE SHARES

B. EXPORT—(i) VALUES

SWADESHI & BOYCOTT
CHAPTER I
DISTRIBUTION OF INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE
A. IMPORTS
(i) VALUES

In the following table the distribution of India's import trade among different countries for a number of years has been given.

TABLE A

| Value of Imports into India from different Countries (In crores of Rs). | | 12 months 1st April to 31st March | | | | | | 7 months 1st April to 31st Oct | |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------------|------|
| | | | | | | | | | |
| | | 1913-14 | 1925-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 | 29-30 | 1929 | 1930 |
| Countries | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| United Kingdom | | 117 | 115 | 111 | 119 | 113 | 103 | 60 | 40 |
| British occupied Other States | | 11 | 19 | 16 | 17 | 24 | 23 | 13 | 9 |
| Europe | | 30 | 38 | 47 | 48 | 51 | 47 | 28 | 20 |
| USA | | 5 | 15 | 18 | 20 | 17 | 16 | 11 | 9 |
| Japan | | 5 | 18 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 24 | 13 | 9 |
| Other Countries | | 15 | 21 | 23 | 28 | 30 | 28 | 15 | 13 |
| Total | | 183 | 226 | 231 | 250 | 253 | 241 | 140 | 100 |

Since the War, two changes are Noticeable. One is that there is a considerable increase in the total volume of imports compared with 1913-14, as shown in the last line of the table. The other is that the share of the United Kingdom, although still predominant, is steadily declining, for on reference to the table, it will be seen that there is a fall in the value of imports from the United Kingdom from 1913-14 to 1925-26, again from 1925-26 to 1926-27, and finally from 1927-28 onwards. The slight increase of Rs. 8 crores from 1926-27 to 1927-28 is more than counter balanced by the considerable increase of Rs. 19 crores in the total figure. In other words, the increase in the total is proportionately greater than that recorded for the United Kingdom. There has been a sensational drop during the last seven months from April to October 1930, when the political movement has been going on, as shown clearly in column (9), which is to be compared, item by item, with column (8), giving corresponding figures for 1929. It will be seen that of the total fall of Rs. 40 crores, as much as Rs. 20 crores is accounted for by the United Kingdom. To put the matter somewhat differently, in the case of that country, there has been a drop of Rs. 20 crores on the last years' figure of Rs. 60 crores, i. e. the fall is by $33\frac{1}{3}\%$; the drop in the case of the rest of the world is from Rs. 80 crores only; i. e., the fall is through 25% only. Thus the decline is heavier in the case of United Kingdom than for any other country.

(ii) PERCENTAGE SHARES

The percentage contribution of different countries in India's import trade are shown in Table B.

TABLE B
Share of Different Countries in imports to India
(In Percentage)

| Counties | Twelve months 1st April to 31st March | | | | | | | Seven months April to Oct. | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|----------------------------|--|
| | (in Percentage) | | | | | | | | |
| | 1913-14 | 1925-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 | 29-30 | 1929 | 1930 | |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | |
| United Kingdom | 64.1 | 51.4 | 47.8 | 47.7 | 44.7 | 42.8 | 83.0 | 39.6 | |
| Germany | 6.9 | 5.9 | 7.3 | 6.1 | 6.3 | 6.6 | 6.7 | 7.5 | |
| Japan | 2.6 | 8.0 | 7.1 | 7.2 | 7.0 | 9.8 | 9.5 | 8.7 | |
| USA | 2.6 | 6.7 | 7.9 | 8.2 | 6.9 | 6.7 | 7.6 | 8.6 | |
| Belgium | 2.3 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 3.0 | 2.8 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 2.9 | |
| France | 1.5 | 1.4 | 1.5 | 1.7 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.9 | 1.7 | |
| Italy | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 2.7 | 2.9 | 2.8 | 2.9 | 2.8 | |
| Other Countries | 15.6 | 22.0 | 22.8 | 23.4 | 27.5 | 26.6 | 25.5 | 28.2 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

On comparing column (2) with column (9) a few significant facts emerge themselves. The Share of the United Kingdom has continuously fallen from 64.1% to 39.6%, whereas Japan, USA and Italy record appreciable increases. In spite of the holocaust of the war, in which Germany, France and Belgium were economically

ruined, there are slight increases even in their case. To estimate how the present political movement has affected the trade of different countries, column (8) is to be compared with column (9). It will be seen that there is a drop in the case of the United Kingdom and partly also in the case of Japan, a rise in the cases of Germany, USA and other countries, while Belgium, France and Italy remain almost stationary. Thus it is quite clear that British goods have been replaced by non-British goods. It should be noted in this connection that the decline in British imports cannot be explained away merely by talking about India's diminished buying power or about the present fall in prices. For, these general causes must affect all countries alike, and there can be no change in the percentage contributions made by different countries. The loss in the British share must be due to a special cause operating in the case of the United Kingdom alone, viz., the boycott declared against British goods.

B. EXPORTS

(i) VALUES

Officials and their apologists frequently point out that international trade is a form of barter that exports pay for imports and that India cannot curtail her imports without curtailing her exports at the same time. There is an obvious fallacy in this line of argument. While it is perfectly true that India's total export* must balance her total import, it does not necessarily follow that her export to a particular country such as the United Kingdom must balance her import from that country. As a matter of fact, from Table C it will be seen that the value of India's exports to the United Kingdom is consistently below that of her imports from that country (as given in Table A), whereas in the case of every other country as also in the aggregate India exports more than she imports. In other words, India has a favourable balance of trade in the case of every country other than the United Kingdom, and

* Taking it in a comprehensive sense so as to signify not only visible trade in goods but also invisible trade in services, and including loan operations also.

that even when allowance is made for this adverse balance, there is in the aggregate a favourable balance of trade. Thus the excess of our exports to non-British countries over our imports from these countries has always been used in paying off the excess of our

TABLE C
Value of Exports of India in different Countries
(In Crores of Rs.)

| Countries | 12th months 1st April to 31st March | | | | | | Seven months 1st April to 31st Oct. | |
|------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------------------------------------|------|
| | 1913-14 | 1925-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 | 29-30 | 1929 | 1930 |
| | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| United Kingdom | 58 | 81 | 66 | 82 | 72 | 67 | 40 | 33 |
| British Occupied | | | | | | | | |
| Other Countries | 36 | 54 | 53 | 50 | 48 | 44 | 26 | 22 |
| Europe | 85 | 97 | 68 | 88 | 95 | 79 | 47 | 31 |
| USA | 22 | 40 | 34 | 37 | 40 | 36 | 21 | 13 |
| Japan | 23 | 58 | 41 | 29 | 35 | 32 | 18 | 12 |
| Other Countries | 25 | 55 | 47 | 43 | 48 | 53 | 30 | 29 |
| Total | 249 | 385 | 309 | 329 | 338 | 311 | 182 | 140 |

imports from the United Kingdom over our exports to that country. This position has not changed as a result of the present boycott movement. On comparing column (9) of Table C with the corresponding column of Table A, it will be clear that even with the heavy decline in British imports, pointed out above, the United Kingdom supplied goods worth Rs. 40 crores but purchased Indian merchandise worth only Rs 33 Crores, whereas during the same period India exported goods worth Rs. 107 crores to non-British countries, but imported from them only Rs. 60 crores worth of goods. It is out of this surplus of Rs. 47 crores that our account with the United Kingdom is really squared.

The hollowness of the official contention about the injurious effect of the present boycott movement on India's export trade can be easily seen from the Table D giving the percentage shares of different countries in the export trade of India.

In spite of the heavy decline in the British Share in India's imports, the British percentage of India's exports during the present movement stands at a higher level at 23·5 than in 1913-14 when it stood at 23·4, and is in fact the highest on record except for a single year 1927-28 when it was 25·0. When the figures in column (8) are contrasted with most in column (9), both the Table B and the Table D, it will be seen that a falling off in imports does not necessary mean a falling off in exports in the case of individual countries. For instance, though the column (8) and (9) in Table C show a drop of 23·1% in the total export trade, the decline is by only 17·5% in the case of the United Kingdom. So that, we can safely presume that, whatever the cause may be, our export trade with the United Kingdom has not been prejudicially affected since the launching of the boycott movement.

TABLE D
Share of different Countries in exports of India
(In Percentage)

| Countries | Twelve months 1st April to 31st March | | | | | | | Seven months April to Oct. | |
|-----------------|---------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------------------------------|-----|
| | 1913-14 | 1925-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 | 29-30 | 1929 | 1930 | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) |
| United Kingdom | 23.4 | 21.0 | 21.4 | 25.0 | 21.4 | 21.6 | 21.9 | 23.5 | |
| Germany | 10.6 | 7.0 | 6.9 | 9.9 | 9.6 | 8.3 | 9.0 | 6.3 | |
| Japan | 9.1 | 15.0 | 13.3 | 8.9 | 10.2 | 10.4 | 9.9 | 8.6 | |
| USA | 8.7 | 10.4 | 11.1 | 11.1 | 11.8 | 11.7 | 11.6 | 11.7 | |
| Belgium | 4.8 | 3.2 | 2.9 | 3.3 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 3.9 | 3.5 | |
| France | 7.1 | 5.5 | 4.5 | 4.9 | 5.3 | 5.2 | 5.1 | 4.9 | |
| Italy | 3.1 | 5.0 | 3.7 | 3.9 | 4.5 | 3.6 | 3.9 | 3.3 | |
| Other Countries | 33.2 | 32.9 | 35.2 | 33.0 | 33.2 | 35.2 | 34.7 | 38.2 | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | |

II

MONTHLY STATISTICS OF IMPORTS

- A. BRITISH AND NON-BRITISH IMPORTS**
- B. DECLINE IN PRICES AND IN IMPORTS**
- C. IMPORTS INTO DIFFERENT PROVINCES**

CHAPTER II

MONTHLY STATISTICS OF IMPORTS

A. BRITISH AND NON-BRITISH IMPORTS

It has been explained in the previous chapter that during the seven months April to October, 1930, there has been a falling of in British imports into India on a heavier scale than in the case of aggregate imports and therefore *a fortiori* in the case of non-British imports. In fact the disparity between the declines in British and non-British imports is a measure of the intensity of the boycott movement. It is for this reason that in the following table (Table E) monthly statistics of imports are given from January onwards separately for (a) the United Kingdom, (b) other countries and (c) all countries. In each case the figure for 1929 has been given in the first line, that for 1930 in the second line, and the difference between the two expressed as a percentage of the first given in the third line.

TABLE E

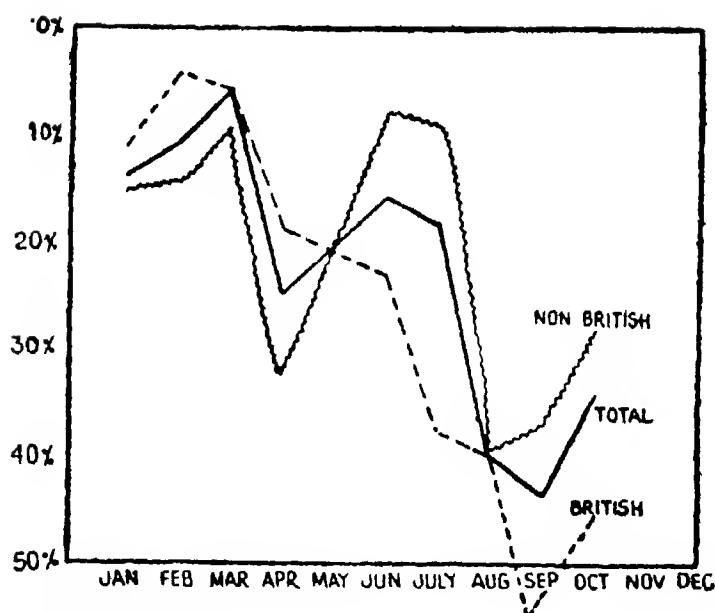
India's Monthly Import in 1929 & 1930
(In Lakhs of Rs.)

| Month | Imports from UK | from other Countries | Total |
|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|-------|
| January { 1929... | 11,10 | 15,76 | 26,86 |
| { 1930... | 9,82 | 13,11 | 22,93 |
| { Decline | 11.5% | 16.9% | 16.6% |
| February { 1929... | 4,27 | 11,56 | 19,83 |
| { 1930... | 7,74 | 9,58 | 17,32 |
| { Decline | 6.4% | 16.3% | 12.7% |
| March { 1929 .. | 9,82 | 12,43 | 22,25 |
| { 1930... | 9 20 | 11,62 | 20,82 |
| { Decline | 6.2% | 6.5% | 6.4% |

| Month | | Imports from UK | from other Countries | Total |
|---------------------|---------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------|
| April | 1929... | 11,17 | 13,37 | 24,54 |
| | 1930... | 8,80 | 9,30 | 18,10 |
| | Decline | 21·2% | 30·4% | 26·2% |
| May | 1929... | 9,05 | 18,18 | 21,23 |
| | 1930... | 7,02 | 10,89 | 17,91 |
| | Decline | 22·4% | 10·6% | 15·6% |
| June | 1929... | 7,16 | 9,36 | 16,52 |
| | 1930... | 5,55 | 8,32 | 13,87 |
| | Decline | 22·6% | 11·1% | 16·0% |
| July | 1929... | 8,05 | 11,01 | 19,06 |
| | 1930 .. | 5,23 | 8,43 | 13,65 |
| | Decline | 35·0% | 23·4% | 28·4% |
| Aug. | 1929... | 8,47 | 11,87 | 20,34 |
| | 1930 .. | 5,31 | 7,43 | 12,75 |
| | Decline | 37·3% | 37·3% | 37·3% |
| Sept. | 1929... | 8,22 | 11,01 | 19,23 |
| | 1930... | 3,14 | 7,14 | 11,18 |
| | Decline | 52·2% | 35·1% | 41·9% |
| Oct. | 1929... | 8,10 | 11,14 | 19,24 |
| | 1930... | 4,38 | 8,40 | 12,78 |
| | Decline | 45·9% | 24·5% | 33·6% |
| January— October | 1929... | 89,41 | 119,67 | 209,08 |
| | 1930... | 66,34 | 94,62 | 161,26 |
| | Decline | 25·8% | 20·7% | 22·9% |
| April— October | 1929... | 60,21 | 79,94 | 140,15 |
| | 1930... | 39,58 | 60,61 | 100,19 |
| | Decline | 34·2% | 24·2% | 28·5% |

A careful study of the table will make the following significant facts clear. During January to April, when only general causes such as price depression and diminished buying power were in operation, British imports recorded proportionately less decline than non-British imports, having been 11·5%, 6·4%, 6·2% and 21·2% in the case of the former and 16·9%, 16·3%, 6·5% and 13·4% in the case of the latter. From May onwards, when the political cause was at work, the decline in the case of British imports has been far heavier

SHEET I



Percentage Decline in British Imports During 1930—
 Compared with 1929 figure - - - British
Non British, Total

than in the case of non-British imports and the disparity, which temporarily disappeared during August, is becoming greater and greater every month as shown below—

| Months | <u>Percentage decline in</u> | | Differences between the two |
|--------|------------------------------|------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| | British imports | Non-British imports | |
| May | 22.4 | 10.6 | 11.8 |
| June | 22.6 | 11.1 | 11.5 |
| July | 35.0 | 23.4 | 11.6 |
| Aug | 37.3 | 37.3 | 0 |
| Sept | 52.2 | 35.1 | 17.1 |
| Oct | 45.9 | 24.5 | 21.4 |

The position is illustrated in the set of the three graphs on Sheet I illustrating the percentage declines in (1) British (2) Non-British and (3) Total imports. It will be seen that from January to April, the graph (1) is above the graph (3) with the graph (2) down below, whereas from May onwards, the graph (2) is on top, with the graph

(1) at the bottom. It is to be noticed also that the three curves after meeting together during August show a greater and greater divergence ; the disparity between graph (1) and (3) is more pronounced than that between graphs (2) and (3)

B. DECLINE IN PRICES AND IN IMPORTS

The argument about diminishing imports from the United Kingdom as being due to fall in prices has been shown above to be fallacious on a *priori* grounds. The matter may however be examined from another point of view by studying the following statistics of index, number of wholesale prices in India month by month during 1929 and 1930, and by comparing the percentage decline in wholesale prices with the percentage decline in British imports :—

TABLE F

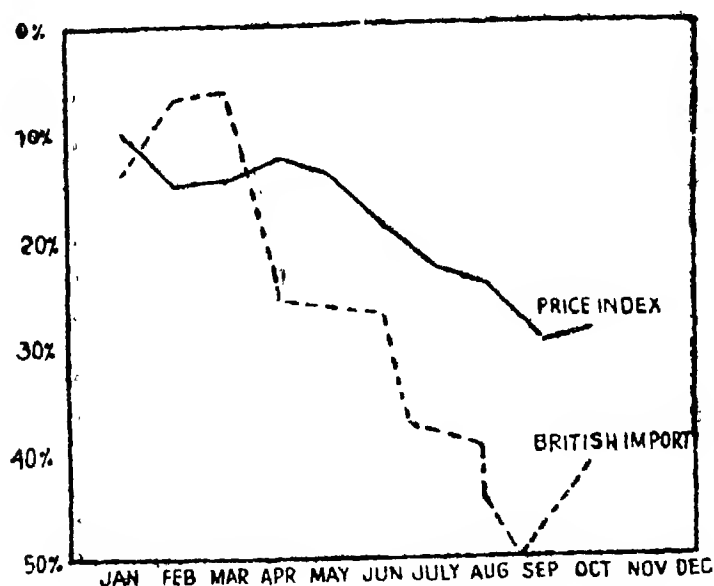
Decline in Prices and British Imports

| Months | Index number of wholesale Prices in India. End of July, 1914=100 | | | Percentage decline in British imports |
|-----------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|-----|---------------------------------------------|
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| January | 145 | 131 | 10 | 11·5 |
| February | 144 | 126 | 13 | 6·4 |
| March | 143 | 125 | 13 | 6·2 |
| April | 140 | 123 | 12 | 21·2 |
| May | 139 | 121 | 13 | 22·4 |
| June | 138 | 116 | 16 | 22·6 |
| July | 142 | 115 | 19 | 35·0 |
| August | 143 | 114 | 20 | 37·3 |
| September | 143 | 111 | 23 | 52·2 |
| October | 140 | 108 | 23 | 45·9 |
| November | 137 | × | × | × |
| December | 134 | × | × | × |

[The index number of wholesale prices has been taken from the Indian Trade Journal issued by the Department of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics and the percentage decline in wholesale prices as well as in British Imports has been calculated from official returns.]

The figures in Columns (4) and (3) are plotted on Sheet II. It will be noticed that from April onwards British imports have declined much more than what can be explained by the fall in the index number of wholesale prices.

SHEET II



Percentage Decline in British Imports During
1930—Compared with 1929 figure
.....Imports,—Index no. of Prices

C. IMPORTS INTO DIFFERENT PROVINCES

From the above analysis it is quite clear that economic causes are not sufficient to explain the heavy decline in British imports and the reason must be looked for the present political agitation. The share which the different provinces in India have had in the decline of British imports is not always realised till the official returns are studied. For instance, it is sometimes imagined that the boycott agitation is very intense in other parts of India; whereas it has received lukewarm support in Bengal. It should be remembered, however that the boycott movement was started in Bengal about 25

years ago in connection with the anti-partition agitation, which did not then naturally affect the rest of India. The Boycott movement in Bengal has gone on steadily and without a break since 1905 and the cumulative effect of that boycott has been great. In addition to this continuous boycott, there has been a remarkable drop in British imports in 1930 as compared with 1929 in the province of Bengal as in other provinces like Bombay, Bihar, Punjab, United Provinces etc.

It would not be altogether out of place to state that during the last 25 years Bengal has gone through every conceivable form of suffering and sacrifice. She has the undoubted distinction of being ruled for years by the Bengal Ordinance and administered with the help of detention camps in Buxa Dooars at the foot of the Himalayas. This would have been clearly unnecessary, if she had not been in the vanguard of the army of freedom. Further it should never be forgotten that the Bengal Government do not use their wide and arbitrary powers only against violent revolutionary crimes but also against non-violent civil disobedience movement. When the anti-partition agitation was first started there was no Bengal Ordinance, but the Govt. of the day utilised the Bengal Regulation III of 1818 to stifle the national movement. On January 7, 1924, His Excellency Sir Hugh Stephenson, then a member of the Executive Council of the Govt. of Bengal, explained in the Legislative Council the reason for the arrest during 1908 of the Swadeshi leaders, Babu Aswini Kr. Dutta and Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter in the following words :

I never knew Babu Aswini Kr. Dutta, but I hope that Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter will not be ashamed if I call him my friend, and I whole heartedly acquit him of sympathy with terrorist crime. But as far as I know no one has ever accused him or Babu Aswini Kr. Dutta of promoting crime, still less of taking part in it.* The Bengal Government asked for the arrest

* "But this was exactly the case officially put forward in 1908, to justify this arbitrary action against a non-violent Constitutional movement. For instance Lord Morley wrote to Lord Minto in this connection : 'You have nine men [The above two and seven other leaders of the Boycott movement in Bengal] locked up a year ago by lettre-de-cachet because you believed them to be criminally connected with criminal plots.'—Lord Morley Reminiscences.

under the Bengal Regulations III of 1818 of Babu Krishna Kumar Mitter in 1908 because of his violent (sic) boycott speeches and his activity in organising volunteers.....In the same way the Eastern Bengal Govt. asked for the use of the said Regulation in the case of Babu Aswini Kumar Dutta because of his whirlwind campaign.....and of his control of the Brajomohon Institution from which a stream of Swadeshi preachers was constantly pouring.....”

True to this tradition, the Bengal Government since 1924 have been clapping prominent Congress Workers into prison and thereby thwarting the national movement. In 1930 the number of Congress Workers incarcerated without trial has also been very large. In spite of such ruthless repression, Bengal has sent a large number of volunteers for picketing and other boycott activities than any other province in India. Her share of the total decline in imports compares equally favourably with that of the rest of India. Some idea may be formed about the position of the different parts by comparing the imports of British cotton manufactures for which British Official statistics are published in great detail. These figures must also reflect the trend of the aggregate British imports, for cotton manufactures from nearly half of the total imports.

**Statistics of imports of different classes of British
cotton manufactures during 9 months,
January to Sept 1929 and 1930**

| | | 1929 (£1000) | 1930 (£1000) | Percentage decline |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| Grey, unbleached yarn | { Bengal | 234 | 82 | 65 |
| | { Rest of India (excluding Burma) | 1040 | 403 | 61 |
| White, bleached yarn | { Bengal | 97 | 56 | 42 |
| | { Rest of India (excluding Burma) | 443 | 324 | 27 |
| Grey, unbleached piece goods | { Bengal | 5770 | 3085 | 77 |
| | { Rest of India (excluding Burma) | 1209 | 672 | 44 |
| White, bleached piece goods | { Bengal | 1961 | 1136 | 42 |
| | { Rest of India (excluding Burma) | 4994 | 3404 | 32 |

In respect of every item, the decline in the case of Bengal is greater than the rest of India.

Similar statistics are not available for other British imports. But some indirect evidence is available. Thus most of the items which find considerable sales in Bengal record the heaviest decline. It was shown above that the aggregate British imports recorded a diminution of 34·2% during the seven months April to October in 1930 as compared with 1929, some commodities showing declines less than this figure and others showing falls greater than this figure. To the latter category generally belong the commodities, whose principal market is Bengal. The position will be made clear with the help of detailed statistics in the next chapter.

III
STATISTICS OF IMPORTANT
COMMODITIES

- 1. BRITISH COTTON MANUFACTURES—**
 - (a) BRITISH GREY COTTON PIECE-GOODS**
 - (b) BRITISH WHITE COTTON PIECE-GOODS**
 - (c) BRITISH COLOURED COTTON PIECE-GOODS**
 - (d) BRITISH COTTON TWIST AND YARN**
- 2. BRITISH MACHINERY AND MILL WORK**
- 3. BRITISH GALVANISED IRON SHEETS**
- 4. BRITISH PROVISIONS (OIL MANSTORES ETC.)**
- 5. BRITISH CIGARETTES**
- 6. BRITISH ELECTRICAL INSTRUMENTS ETC.**
- 7. BRITISH HARDWARE**
- 8. BRITISH WOOLLEN PIECE-GOODS**
- 9. BRITISH SOAPS**
- 10. BRITISH SPIRITS**

CHAPTER III

STATISTICS OF IMPORTANT COMMODITIES

The Principal Commodities imported from the United Kingdom into India and their values during the past few years are tabulated in Table G in the next Page.

It will be noticed that except for 1927-28, there has been practically an uninterrupted decline in respect of most of the items. There has been a very considerable drop during the current financial year, which is easily seen on comparing column (8) with column (9). To facilitate the comparison further, the 1930 figure has been deducted from the 1929 figure in each case and the difference has been expressed as a percentage of the 1929 figure in column (10). The lowest decline is recorded in the case of electrical instruments etc. (13%) and the highest for grey piece goods (62%), the decline in the aggregate being 34%. In the following pages, further details about these commodities have been given.

1 (a). BRITISH GREY COTTON PIECE GOODS

It has been stated above that during the seven months April to October 1930, the imports of British grey cotton piece goods declined by 62% as compared with the corresponding figure of 1929. In the table below, the declines are calculated month by month from January onwards.

TABLE G
Values of Principal Commodities imported from U.K. to British India
(In lakhs of Rs)

| British imports | Twelve months 1st April to 31st March | | | | | | | Seven months April to Oct. | | Decline in Percentage (10) |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|-------|----------------------------|-----|-------------------------------|
| | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 | 29-30 | 1929 | 1930 | | |
| | (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | |
| | | | | | | | | | | |
| 1. Cotton Manufactures | | | | | | | | | | |
| (a) Grey piece goods | 24,06 | 17,08 | 15,24 | 15,54 | 13,78 | 11,76 | 6,49 | 2,50 | | 62 |
| (b) White piece goods | 19,25 | 15,09 | 16,57 | 14,20 | 14,23 | 12,03 | 7,36 | 3,90 | | 47 |
| (c) Coloured piece goods | 16,45 | 11,91 | 12,58 | 12,59 | 11,99 | 9,50 | 5,89 | 3,61 | | 39 |
| (d) Twists & yarns | 4,55 | 3,14 | 3,08 | 3,09 | 3,56 | 2,96 | 1,94 | 82 | | 58 |
| 2. Machinery & Mill work | 12,40 | 11,87 | 10,66 | 12,53 | 14,09 | 13,68 | 7,97 | 6,63 | | 17 |
| 3. Galvanised iron sheets | 5,91 | 7,15 | 6,45 | 7,24 | 6,26 | 4,38 | 2,66 | 1,35 | | 50 |
| 4. Provisions etc. | 1,73 | 1,93 | 2,25 | 2,34 | 2,25 | 2,35 | 1,32 | 1,07 | | 19 |
| 5. Cigarettes | 1,20 | 1,57 | 1,93 | 2,38 | 2,00 | 2,12 | 1,07 | 60 | | 45 |
| 6. Electrical instruments | 1,41 | 1,52 | 1,70 | 1,85 | 1,99 | 2,15 | 1,20 | 1,04 | | 13 |
| 7. Hardware | 2,00 | 1,98 | 1,84 | 2,06 | 1,89 | 1,80 | 1,04 | 80 | | 23 |
| 8. Woollen piece goods | 1,57 | 1,50 | 1,43 | 1,62 | 1,22 | 91 | 65 | 34 | | 48 |
| 9. Soap | 1,25 | 1,36 | 1,37 | 1,47 | 1,39 | 1,46 | 82 | 60 | | 27 |
| 10. Spirits | 1,31 | 1,35 | 1,36 | 1,36 | 1,36 | 1,41 | 80 | 62 | | 23 |
| All Commodities | 133,45 | 115,32 | 110,54 | 119,21 | 113,24 | 103,08 | 50,21 | 39,58 | | 34 |

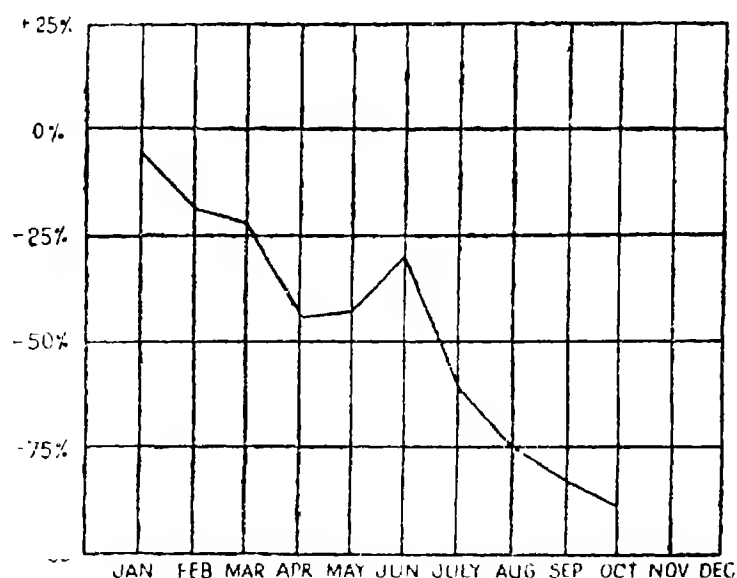
TABLE H

Imports of British Grey Cotton Piece-goods

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|----------------------|
| January | 1929 | 1,56,37 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 1,45,08 „ |
| | Decline | 7·2% |
| February | 1929 | 1,15,61 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 94,67 „ |
| | Decline | 18·1% |
| March | 1929 | 1,29,41 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 1,02,47 „ |
| | Decline | 20·8% |
| April | 1929 | 1,50,25 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 8,88 „ |
| | Decline | 40·8% |
| May | 1929 | 99 26 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 58,58 „ |
| | Decline | 40·9% |
| June | 1929 | 37,69 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 23,70 „ |
| | Decline | 37·1% |
| July | 1929 | 70,58 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 24,24 „ |
| | Decline | 65·6% |
| August | 1929 | 1,22,05 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 29,33 „ |
| | Decline | 75 9% |
| September | 1929 | 88,58 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 17,99 „ |
| | Decline | 79·7% |
| October | 1929 | 80,15 thousand Ra. |
| „ | 1930 | 7,62 „ |
| | Decline | 90·5% |

It will be seen that during the first three months where economic causes alone were operating the declines were very much less than during the following months. In fact the fall is increasing progressively, recording a decline of more than 90% during October, as illustrated in Sheet III.

SHEET III



Percentage Decline in British Grey Cotton Piece-goods Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figure

(b) BRITISH WHITE COTTON PIECE GOODS

The imports of the second commodity of the list British White Cotton piece goods also fall heavily. It is shown in the following table and in Sheet IV.

TABLE I

British White Cotton Piece Goods Imports

| Month | Value |
|--------------|----------------------|
| January 1929 | 1,31,00 Thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 1,01,42 „ |
| Decline | 20% |

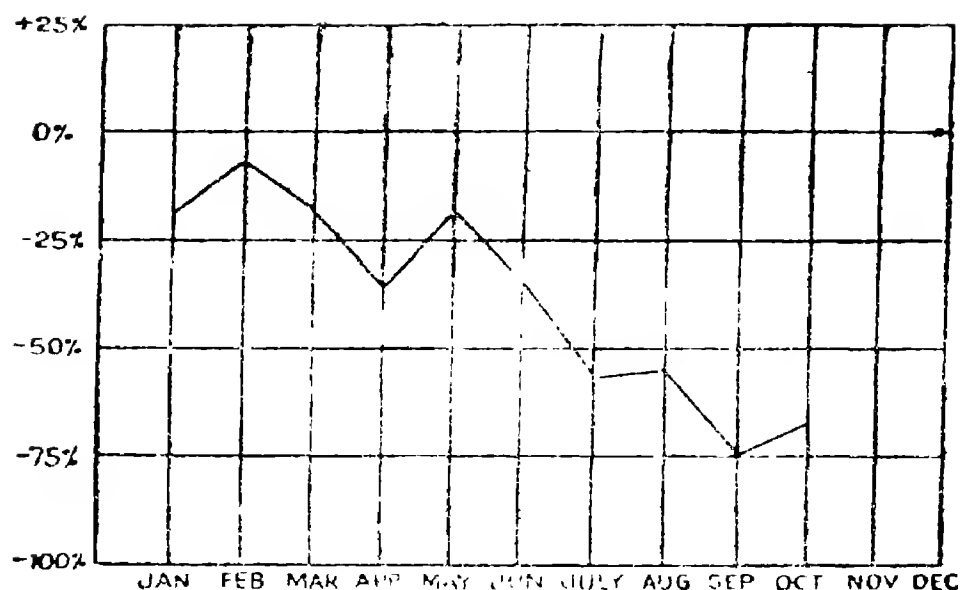
| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|----------------------|
| February | 1929 | 1,02,27 Thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 1,06,56 „ |
| | Decline | 0.7% |
| March | 1929 | 1,41,07 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 1,16,01 „ |
| | Decline | 17.8% |
| April | 1929 | 1,55,18 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 1,06,71 „ |
| | Decline | 31.3% |
| May | 1929 | 1,05,71 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 48,67 „ |
| | Decline | 19.9% |
| June | 1929 | 92,52 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 61,05 „ |
| | Decline | 34% |
| July | 1929 | 1,07,58 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 48,91 „ |
| | Decline | 56.8% |
| August | 1929 | 97,60 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 42,57 „ |
| | Decline | 56.3% |
| September | 1929 | 1,09,03 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 25,86 „ |
| | Decline | 76.3% |
| October | 1929 | 68,31 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 22,72 „ |
| | Decline | 66.7% |

Bengal consumed about one-third of the total import during 1924-25 and about one-fifth during 1928-29. The figures are appended :

**British White Cotton Piece-goods Imported into different
parts of India (in lakhs of Rs),**

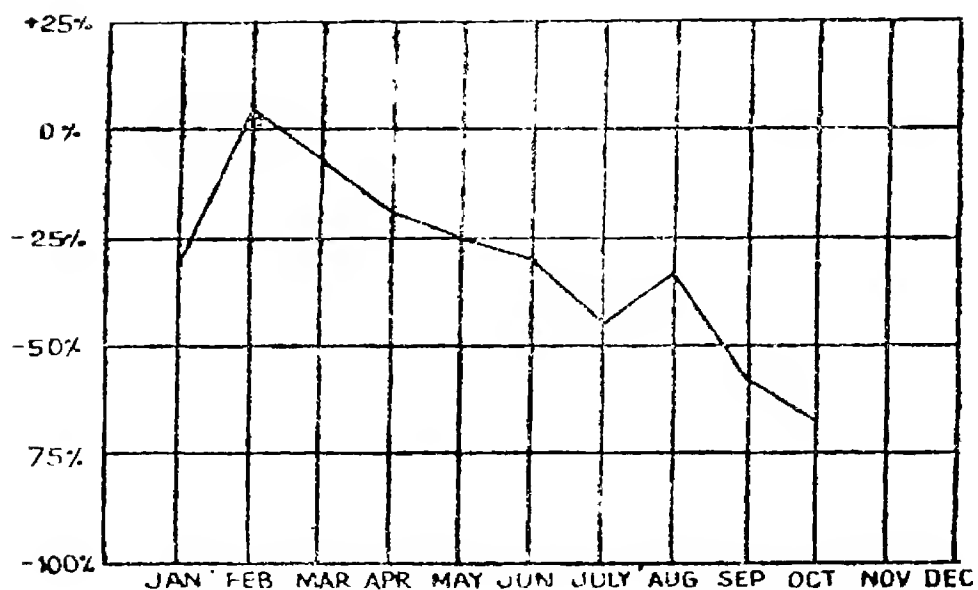
| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 6,20 | 4,63 | 5,47 | 4,53 | 2,97 |
| Rest of India | 13,05 | 10,46 | 11,10 | 9,67 | 11,26 |
| Total | 19,25 | 15,09 | 16,57 | 14,20 | 14,23 |

SHEET IV



Percentage Decline in British White Cotton Piece-goods Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figure

SHEET V



Percentage Decline in British Coloured Cotton Piece-goods Imports During 1930—Compared with 1929 figure

A substantial part of this fall must have been contributed by Bengal. From the table below it will be found that Bengal normally buys the bulk of the Grey Cotton piece goods.

British Grey Cotton Piece-goods imported into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs).

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 19,88 | 14,68 | 12,81 | 13,67 | 11,22 |
| Rest of India | 4,18 | 2,40 | 2,43 | 1,87 | 2,26 |
| Total | 24,06 | 17,08 | 15,24 | 15,54 | 13,78 |

(C) BRITISH COLOURED COTTON PIECE GOODS

In this case the figures are extremely interesting. Just before the campaign of boycott, there was an increase in imports during 1930 compared with 1929. Talking February figures, there was an increase by much as 7·6%, which is clearly brought out in Sheet V, the graph rising above the base line of zero percent. The figures for all the months are given in the following table :—

TABLE J

British Coloured Cotton Piece Goods Imports

| Month | | Value |
|----------|---------|-----------------------|
| January | 1929 | 96,83 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 66,50 " |
| | Decline | 31·3% |
| February | 1929 | 74,45 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 80,17 " |
| | Decline | 7·6% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| March | 1929 | 96,30 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 90,14 " |
| | Decline | 19·3% |
| April | 1929 | 1,11, 76 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 90,14 " |
| | Decline | 19·3% |

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| May | 1929 | 87,04 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 67,05 " |
| | Decline | 22.9% |
| June | 1929 | 65,06 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 46,93 " |
| | Decline | 27.8% |
| July | 1929 | 70,13 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 37,61 " |
| | Decline | 46.3% |
| August | 1929 | 84,21 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 57,67 " |
| | Decline | 31.5% |
| September | 1929 | 98,08 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 38,31 " |
| | Decline | 60.9% |
| October | 1929 | 72,42 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 23,19 " |
| | Decline | 68.0% |

How the consumption in Bengal compares with that in the rest of India will be clear from the table below :

**British Coloured Cotton Piece Goods Imported into
Different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs.)**

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 3,63 | 2,82 | 3,25 | 3,33 | 2,47 |
| Rest of India | 12,82 | 9,09 | 9,33 | 9,26 | 9,52 |
| Total | 16,45 | 11,91 | 12,58 | 12,59 | 11,99 |

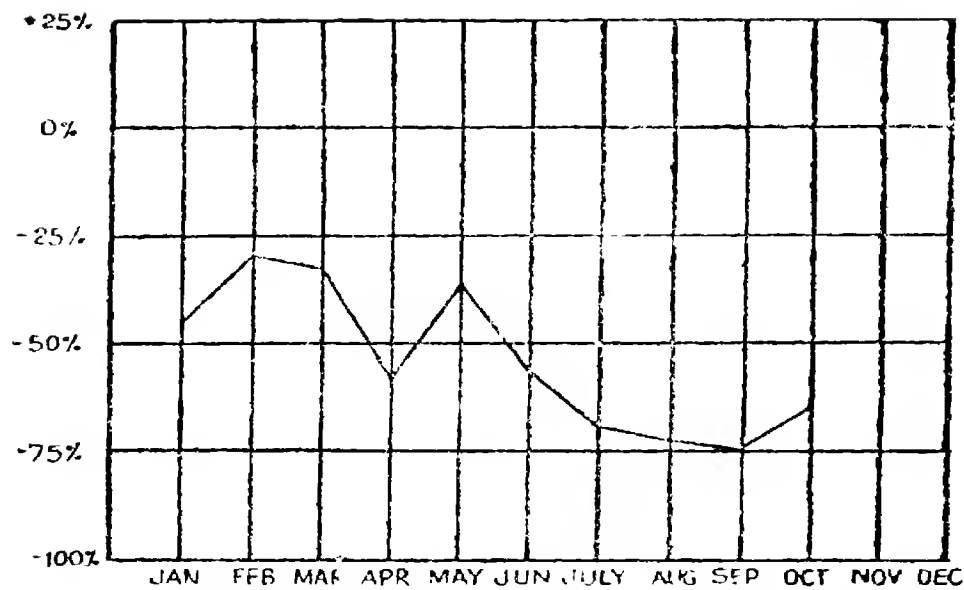
(d) BRITISH COTTON TWIST AND YARN

Here also the decline is equally heavy, as given in Table K and illustrated in Sheet VI.

TABLE K**British Cotton Twist and Yarn Outputs**

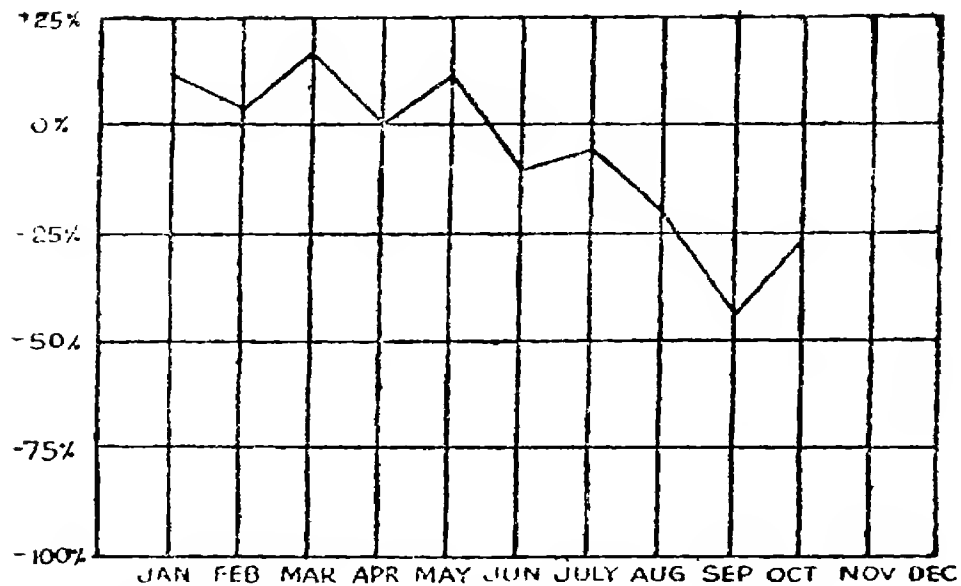
| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| January | 1929 | 39,76 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 22,10 „ |
| | Decline | 44.4% |
| February | 1929 | 27,00 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 19,41 „ |
| | Decline | 28.1% |
| March | 1929 | 30,24 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 20,66 „ |
| | Decline | 31.3% |
| April | 1929 | 36,47 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 15,74 „ |
| | Decline | 56.8% |
| May | 1929 | 26,38 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 17,91 „ |
| | Decline | 32.1% |
| June | 1929 | 32,15 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 14,80 „ |
| | Decline | 53.9% |
| July | 1929 | 30,86 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 12,36 „ |
| | Decline | 59.9% |
| August | 1929 | 27,05 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 8,52 „ |
| | Decline | 68.5% |
| September | 1929 | 22,59 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 5,72 „ |
| | Decline | 74.6% |
| October | 1929 | 18,81 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 6,80 „ |
| | Decline | 63.8% |

SHEET VI



**Percentage Decline in British Cotton Twist and
Yarn Imports During 1930—Compared
with 1929 figure**

SHEET VII



**Percentage decline in British Machinery &
Mill work Imports During 1930—
Compared with 1929 figure**

Bengal normally consumes about one-fifth of the total import as shown below :

**British Cotton Twist and Yarn Imported into
Different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs.)**

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 91 | 83 | 60 | 71 | 79 |
| Rest of India | 3,64 | 2,31 | 2,48 | 2,38 | 2,77 |
| Total | 4,55 | 3,14 | 3,08 | 3,09 | 3,56 |

2. BRITISH MACHINERY AND MILL WORK

That the present decline is not due to economic causes such as trade depression is strikingly illustrated in Sheet VII. Throughout January, February and March, there were recorded increases above the 1929 figures. The increase in May after the launching of the movement is also due to non-political causes, for during that month British railway locomotives, engines, tenders and parts worth Rs. 20,75,683 were imported for the different railways in India against Rs. 4,91,988 imported during 1929. The decline after this period has been striking and cannot be explained away by economic causes. The usual table is appended :—

TABLE L

British Machinery and Mill Work Imports

| Month | Value |
|---------------|----------------------|
| January 1929 | 1,26,30 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 1,44,04 „ |
| Decline | 14.0% |
| February 1929 | 1,00,79 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 1,01,78 „ |
| Decline | 1.0% |
| March 1929 | 1,08,73 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 1,30,64 „ |
| Decline | 20.1% |

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|----------------------|
| April | 1929 | 1,25,30 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 1,24,54 „ |
| | Decline | 0·6% |
| May | 1929 | 99,96 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 1,13,89 „ |
| | Decline | 13·9% |
| June | 1929 | 1,12,58 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 92,58 „ |
| | Decline | 17·8% |
| July | 1929 | 1,11,50 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 96,14 „ |
| | Decline | 13·7% |
| August | 1929 | 1,22,06 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 96,83 „ |
| | Decline | 20·6% |
| September | 1929 | 1,12,87 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 60,00 „ |
| | Decline | 46·8% |
| October | 1929 | 1,12,57 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 80,04 „ |
| | Decline | 28·9% |

Unfortunately, separate statistics of imports of British machinery and mill work into the different parts of India are not available. But from the last two lines in the following table, it will be seen that the bulk of the imports is supplied by the United Kingdom, and therefore, the distribution for aggregate imports will not differ materially from that for British imports. In any case, there seems to be a tendency in Bengal to discard even British machineries. For instance, the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills at Dacca have been fitted up with Dutch machines and are giving entirely satisfactory results.

**Total British and non-British Machinery and Mill work
imported into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs)**

| Territories | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 4,61 | 4,67 | 4,44 | 5,95 | 7,52 |
| Rest of India | 10,13 | 10,22 | 9,49 | 9,99 | 10,84 |
| Total | 14,17 | 14,89 | 13,93 | 15,94 | 18,36 |
| British Share of above | 12,40 | 11,87 | 10,66 | 12,53 | 14,09 |

3. BRITISH GALVANISED IRON SHEETS

The relative graph on Sheet VIII shows a single discontinuity in July, when instead of there being a decrease, there was an increase by as much as 31.5%. The reason for this is purely economic, for British manufacturers heavily reduced their prices to stifle Belgian competition. How far the move was successful may be seen from the trend of the curve during the following months, October recording a fall of 76.6% as shown in the table below :—

TABLE M

British Galvanised Iron Sheets Imports

| Month | Value |
|---------------|--------------------|
| January 1929 | 68,65 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 31,58 „ |
| Decline | 50,4% |
| February 1929 | 61,11 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 26,92 „ |
| Decline | 55,9% |
| March 1929 | 71,69 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 36,33 „ |
| Decline | 49,4% |
| April 1929 | 74,14 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 31,82 „ |
| Decline | 57,1% |
| May 1929 | 59,65 thousand Rs. |
| „ 1930 | 29,05 „ |
| Decline | 51,3% |

| Month | | Value | |
|-----------|---------|-------|--------------|
| June | 1929 | 33,15 | thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 20,37 | „ |
| | Decline | 38.5% | |
| July | 1929 | 17,37 | thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 22,85 | „ |
| | Decline | 31.5% | |
| August | 1929 | 22,10 | thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 14,31 | „ |
| | Decline | 35.2% | |
| September | 1929 | 23,86 | thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 7.97 | „ |
| | Decline | 66.6% | |
| October | 1929 | 36,36 | thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 8.33 | , |
| | Decline | 76.5% | |

The principal market for British Galvanised Sheets in Bengal which consumes normally two-thirds of the total import. The marked diminution must therefore be largely due to the success of the boycott movement in Bengal.

British Galvanised iron sheets (plain and Corrugated)

Imported into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs)

| Territories | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 2,87 | 4,19 | 4,47 | 4,82 | 4,18 |
| Rest of India | 3,04 | 2,96 | 1,98 | 2,42 | 2,08 |
| Total | 5,91 | 7,15 | 6,45 | 7,24 | 6,26 |

4. BRITISH PROVISIONS (OILMAN'S STORES ETC.)

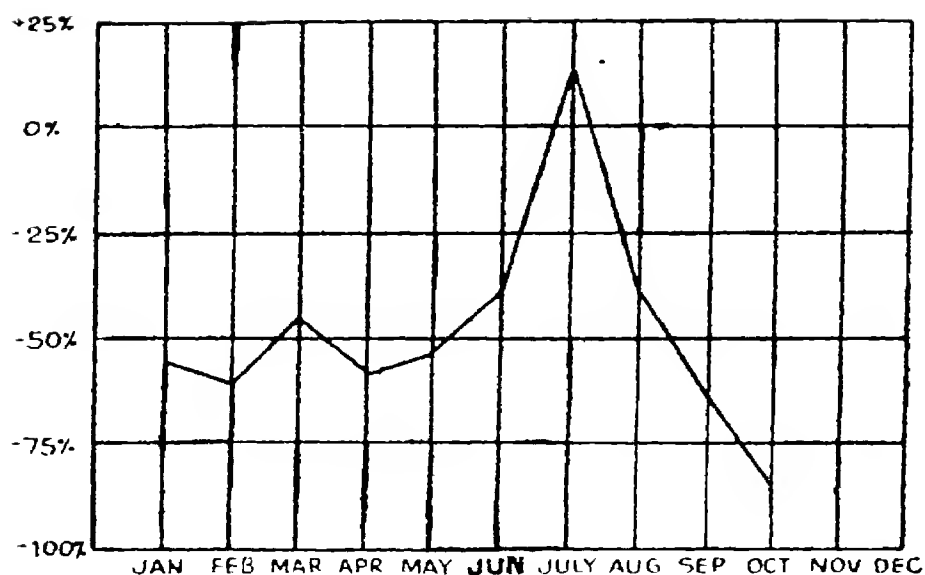
As in the case of British machinery and mill work, there was in this case also an increase during January, February and March, that is to say, before the starting of the campaign ; as illustrated in the curve of Sheet IX. There has been a decline during every one of the succeeding months, although not so heavy as for some other commodities, such as grey-cotton piece-goods, which are used exclusively by Indians. Provisions is consumed by Europeans and Anglo-Indians in India.

The usual table is given below.

TABLE N
British Provisions Imports

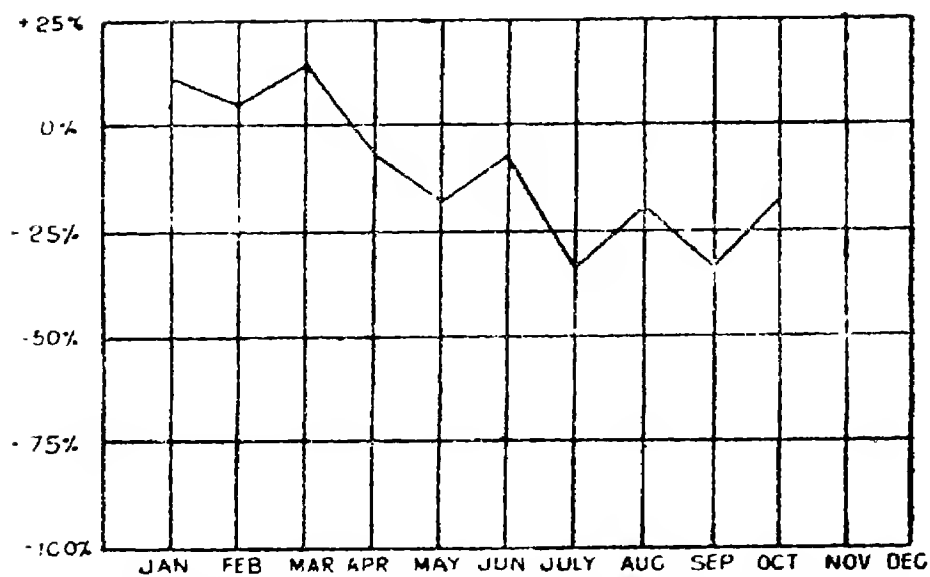
| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| January | 1929 | 20,59 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 22,66 „ |
| | Decline | 10.0% |
| February | 1929 | 18,48 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 15,57 „ |
| | Decline | 7.5% |
| March | 1929 | 16,12 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 18,34 „ |
| | Decline | 13.7% |
| April | 1929 | 17,46 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 16,15 „ |
| | Decline | 7.5% |
| May | 1929 | 17,89 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 14,79 „ |
| | Decline | 17.3% |
| June | 1929 | 15.72 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 14,06 „ |
| | Decline | 10.3% |
| July | 1929 | 19,74 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 13,76 „ |
| | Decline | 30.3% |
| August | 1929 | 17,17 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 14,24 „ |
| | Decline | 17.07% |
| September | 1929 | 20,37 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 14,23 „ |
| | Decline | 30.1% |
| October | 1929 | 23,70 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 20,06 „ |
| | Decline | 15.4% |

SHEET VIII



**Percentage Decline in British Galvanised
Iron-Sheets Imports During 1930—
Compared with 1929 figure**

SHEET IX



**Percentage decline in British Provisions Import
During 1930—Compared with 1929 figure**

It should be remembered further that Bengal usually consumes only about one-fourth of the aggregate import. Thus even any intensive boycott on her part alone cannot bring about any sensational decline in the all-India figure. The usual table is appended below :

**Total (British and non-British) Provisions Imported
into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs.)**

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 1,11 | 1,23 | 1,59 | 1,54 | 1,55 |
| Rest of India | 3,04 | 3,67 | 4,19 | 4,87 | 4,66 |
| Total | 4,15 | 4,90 | 5,78 | 6,41 | 6,21 |
| British Share of above | 1,73 | 1,93 | 2,25 | 2,34 | 2,25 |

5. BRITISH CIGARETTES

In this case also, there were considerable increase during the period just prior to the movement. In fact the whole trend was upward, for or reference to Table G, it will be seen that during the quinquennium 1924-25 to 1929-30, consumption increased by nearly 70%. With effect from April, there have been considerable declines as illustrated in the graph on Sheet X and detailed in the table below :

TABLE O
British Cigarettes Imports

| Month | | Value |
|----------|---------|--------------------|
| January | 1929 | 22,38 thousands Rs |
| " | 1930 | 23,12 " |
| | Decline | 3.3% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| February | 1929 | 13.81 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 18,99 " |
| | Decline | 37.5% |
| | | (denotes increase) |

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| March | 1929 | 15,99 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 22,36 „ |
| | Decline | 39.8% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| April | 1929 | 15,95 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 15,07 „ |
| | Decline | 5.5% |
| May | 1929 | 16,35 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 11,62 „ |
| | Decline | 28.9% |
| June | 1929 | 12,23 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 11,97 „ |
| | Decline | 2.1% |
| July | 1929 | 16,67 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 7,96 „ |
| | Decline | 52.2% |
| August | 1929 | 17,52 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 4,51 „ |
| | Decline | 74.2% |
| September | 1929 | 13,35 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 2,37 „ |
| | Decline | 82.2% |
| October | 1929 | 14,64 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 6,31 „ |
| | Decline | 57.0% |

A substantial portion of this decline must have been contributed by Bengal, which is an important market, as is shown below :—

**British Cigarettes Imported into different parts of
India (in lakhs of Rs)**

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 39 | 47 | 56 | 76 | 79 |
| Rest of India | 81 | 1,10 | 1,37 | 1,62 | 1,21 |
| Total | 1,20 | 1,57 | 1,93 | 2,38 | 2,00 |

Further, even the most casual observer must have noticed that by the boycott of cigarettes in Calcutta as well as in the mofussil since April, 1930, has been remarkable.

6. BRITISH ELECTRICAL INSTRUEMENTS ETC.

On reference to Sheet XI, it will be seen that there were substantial increase immediately before the inauguration of the boycott agitation. The boycott movement has however brought about substantial decrease. The only exception was provided by August, during which month British electric wires and cables were imported to the value of Rs. 9,26,712 as against Rs. 6,82,336 during August, 1929. The imports were made mostly by institutions, which although located in India, are predominantly British in their composition and outlook. The usual tables are appended :—

TABLE P

British Electrical Instruements etc.

| Month | | Value |
|----------|---------|--------------------|
| January | 1929 | 20,92 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 21,30 " |
| | Decline | 1.3% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| February | 1929 | 13,03 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 14,34 " |
| | Decline | 10.1% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| March | 1929 | 19,14 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 23,70 " |
| | Decline | 23.8% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| April | 1929 | 17,94 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 16,92 " |
| | Decline | 5.7% |
| May | 1929 | 21,78 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 15,90 " |
| | Decline | 27.0% |

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| June | 1929 | 17,76 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 14,38 " |
| | Decline | 19.0% |
| July | 1929 | 16,85 thousand Rs; |
| " | 1930 | 14,48 " |
| | Decline | 14.1% |
| August | 1929 | 16,16 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 16,65 " |
| | Decline | 3.0% |
| September | 1929 | 12,50 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 11,06 " |
| | Decline | 11.5% |
| October | 1929 | 17,36 thousand Rs |
| " | 1930 | 14,56 " |
| | Decline | 16.1% |

**Total (British and non-British) Electrical Instruements etc,
Imported into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs.)**

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 98 | 1,00 | 1,16 | 1,34 | 1,46 |
| Rest of India | 99 | 1,25 | 1,36 | 1,49 | 1,67 |
| Total | 1,97 | 2,25 | 2,52 | 2,83 | 3,13 |
| British share of above | 1,41 | 1,52 | 1,70 | 1,85 | 1,99 |

7. BRITISH HARDWARE

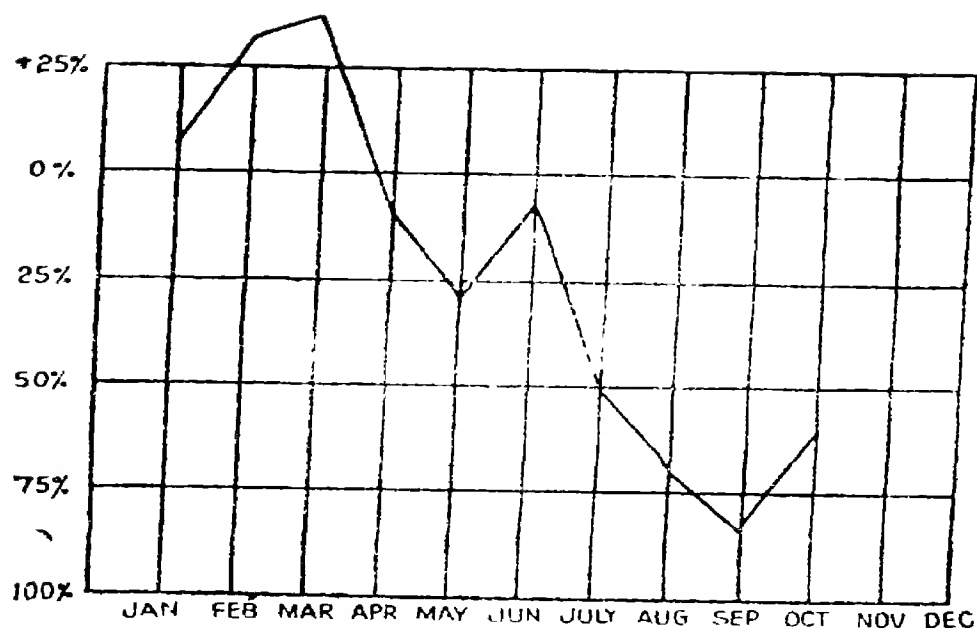
The United Kingdom now supplies about one-third of the total requirements of India in hardware, her chief competitors being Germany and the United States of America. The decline in her share has however been proportionately greater than in the share of her rivals. The figures are given in Table Q and illustrated on Sheet XII.

TABLE Q

British Hardware Imports

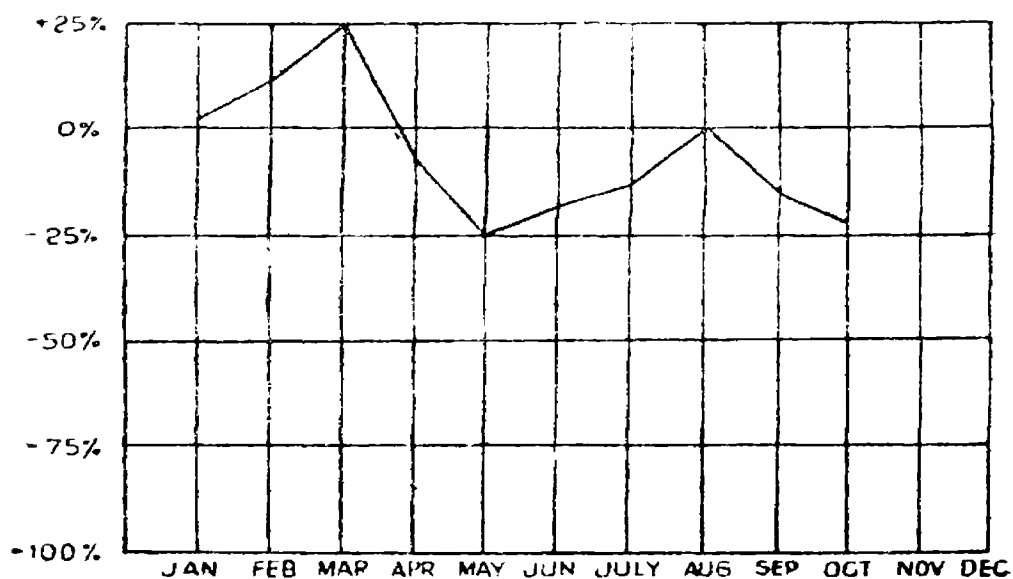
| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| January | 1929 | 19,38 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 17,80 „ |
| | Decline | 8.1% |
| February | 1929 | 12,77 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 12,26 „ |
| | Decline | 8.0% |
| March | 1929 | 15,55 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 16,23 „ |
| | Decline | 4.3% |
| April | 1929 | 16,52 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 14,26 „ |
| | Decline | 13.6% |
| May | 1929 | 15,09 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 11,68 „ |
| | Decline | 22.6% |
| June | 1929 | 13,02 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 12,26 „ |
| | Decline | 5.8% |
| July | 1929 | 14,88 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 11,53 „ |
| | Decline | 22.5% |
| August | 1929 | 16,65 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 12,08 „ |
| | Decline | 17.8% |
| September | 1929 | 14,12 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 8,39 „ |
| | Decline | 40.6% |
| October | 1929 | 16,06 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 9,88 „ |
| | Decline | 38.5% |

SHEET X



Percentage decline in British Cigarettes
Imports During 1930—Compared
with 1929 figure

SHEET XI



Percentage decline in British Electrical
Instruments Imports During 1930—
Compared with 1929 figure

Bengal's consumption is compared below with the all India figure.

**Total (British and non-British) Hardware imported
into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs)**

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 1,68 | 1,84 | 1,73 | 1,80 | 1,81 |
| Rest of India | 3,31 | 3,36 | 3,34 | 3,44 | 3,42 |
| Total | 4,99 | 5,20 | 5,07 | 5,24 | 5,23 |
| British Share of above | 2,00 | 1,98 | 1,88 | 2,06 | 1,89 |

8. BRITISH WOOLLEN PIECE GOODS

The trade in a commodity like wollen piece-goods must be largely seasonal. To give only one instance, the import during September, 1929 was nearly four times the import during February that year. The method of comparison month by month adopted for a study of the boycott figures is peculiarly suitable for wollen piece goods. The difficulty due to fluctuations in monthly import figures is eliminated and the percentage decline show practically an interrupted decline in Table R and in the graphs on Sheet XIII.

TABLE R

British Woollen Peice goods Imports

| Month | | Value |
|----------|---------|-------------------|
| January | 1929 | 6,24 thousand Rs. |
| | 1930 | 5,30 „ |
| | Decline | 15.1% |
| February | 1929 | 4,25 thousand Rs. |
| | 1930 | 4,06 „ |
| | Decline | 4.4% |
| March | 1929 | 4,83 thousand Rs. |
| | 1930 | 4,79 „ |
| | Decline | 0.9% |

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------|
| April | 1929 | 5,60 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 3,69 „ |
| | Decline | 32·4% |
| May | 1929 | 4,65 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 3,54 „ |
| | Decline | 23·8% |
| June | 1929 | 4,82 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 3,60 „ |
| | Decline | 25·3% |
| July | 1929 | 7,68 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 4,48 „ |
| | Decline | 41·6% |
| August | 1929 | 13,19 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 7,09 „ |
| | Decline | 46·3% |
| September | 1929 | 16,33 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 6,51 „ |
| | Decline | 60·1% |
| October | 1929 | 12,32 thousand Ra. |
| „ | 1930 | 5,36 „ |
| | Decline | 56·5% |

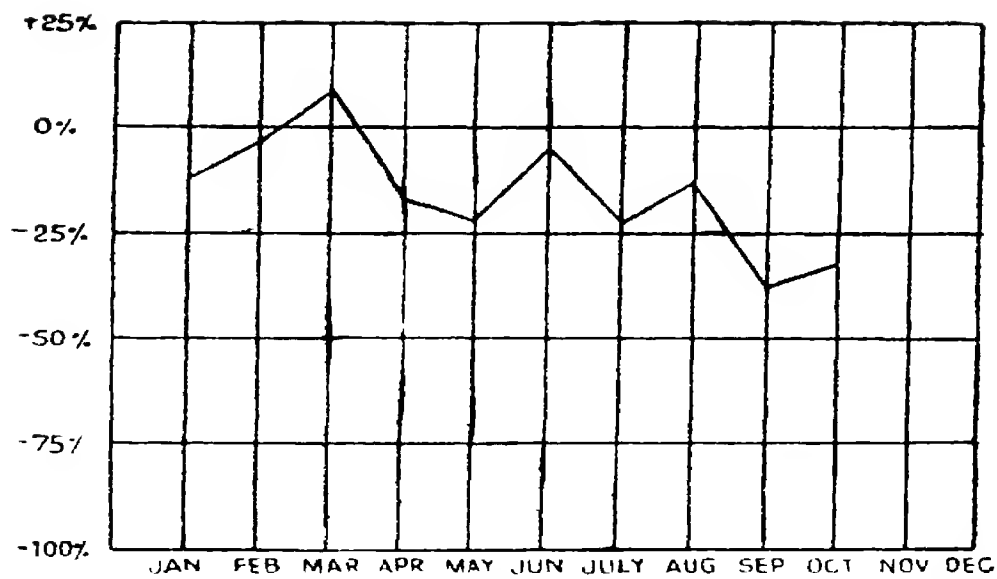
The contribution of Bengal to the decline will appear from her share of the total trade as given below :—

| British Woollen Piece goods Imported into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs) | | | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
| Bengal | 21 | 16 | 18 | 18 | 17 |
| Rest of India | 1,36 | 1,34 | 1,25 | 1,44 | 1,05 |
| Total | 1,57 | 1,50 | 1,43 | 1,62 | 1,22 |

9. BRITISH SOAPS

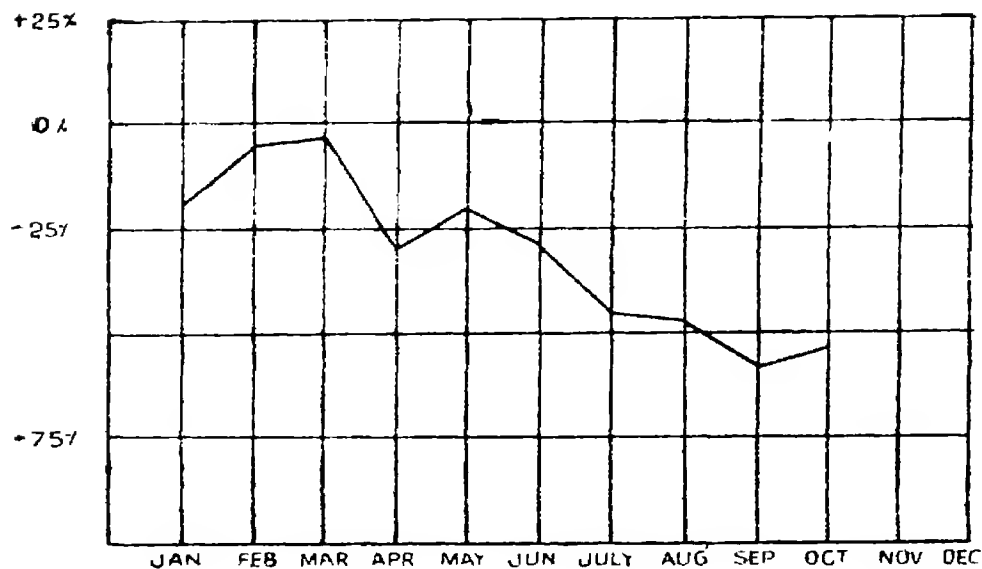
Of the total import of British Soaps about two-thirds is made up of household and laundry soaps, which are used mostly by Indians, whereas the remaining one-third consisting of toilet soaps is

SHEET XII



**Percentage decline in British Hardware
Imports During 1930—Compared
with 1929 figure**

SHEET XIII



**Percentage decline in British Woolen Piece Goods
Imports During 1930—Compared with
1929 figure**

consumed mostly by non-Indians. Naturally, therefore, the decline cannot be as heavy as in the case of grey cotton goods. Comparison should rather be made with British provisions, with which there is a strikingly similarity. Figures are given in Table S and illustrated on Sheet XIV.

TABLE S

British Soap Imports

| Month | | Value |
|----------|---------|--------------------|
| January | 1929 | 12,69 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 13,87 " |
| | Decline | 9.3% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| February | 1929 | 9,59 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 12,51 " |
| | Decline | 30.3% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| March | 1929 | 12,50 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 13,61 " |
| | Decline | 8.1% |
| | | (denotes increase) |
| April | 1929 | 13,38 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 12,58 " |
| | Decline | 6.3% |
| May | 1929 | 15,29 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 11,74 " |
| | Decline | 6.3% |
| June | 1929 | 13,24 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 10,82 " |
| | Decline | 18.3% |
| July | 1929 | 11,41 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 7,41 " |
| | Decline | 35.0% |

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|-------------------|
| August | 1929 | 9,63 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 7,54 " |
| | Decline | 21·6% |
| September | 1929 | 9,99 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 4,11 " |
| | Decline | 58·6% |
| October | 1929 | 9,24 thousand Rs. |
| " | 1930 | 6,30 " |
| | Decline | 31·8% |

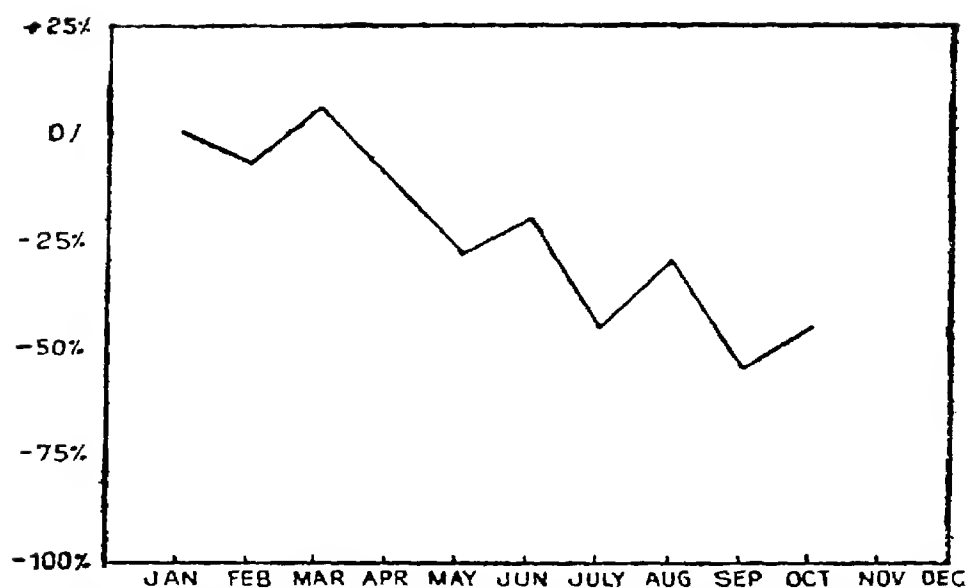
In this connection it is necessary to remember that many factories have been set up in Bengal for the manufacture of laundry as well as toilet soaps in the wake of the Swadeshi Movement since 1905. Bengal consumes only a small proportion of non-Indian and still smaller proportion of British Soaps,—and even that mostly on account of her non-Indian population. The relevant figures are given below :

| Total (British and non-British) Soaps Imported into different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs.) | | | | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
| Bengal | 21 | 26 | 27 | 28 | 27 |
| Rest of India | 1,11 | 1,20 | 1,25 | 1,33 | 1,31 |
| Total | 1,32 | 1,46 | 1,52 | 1,61 | 1,58 |
| British Share | | | | | |
| of above | 1,25 | 1,36 | 1,37 | 1,47 | 1,39 |

10. BRITISH SPIRITS

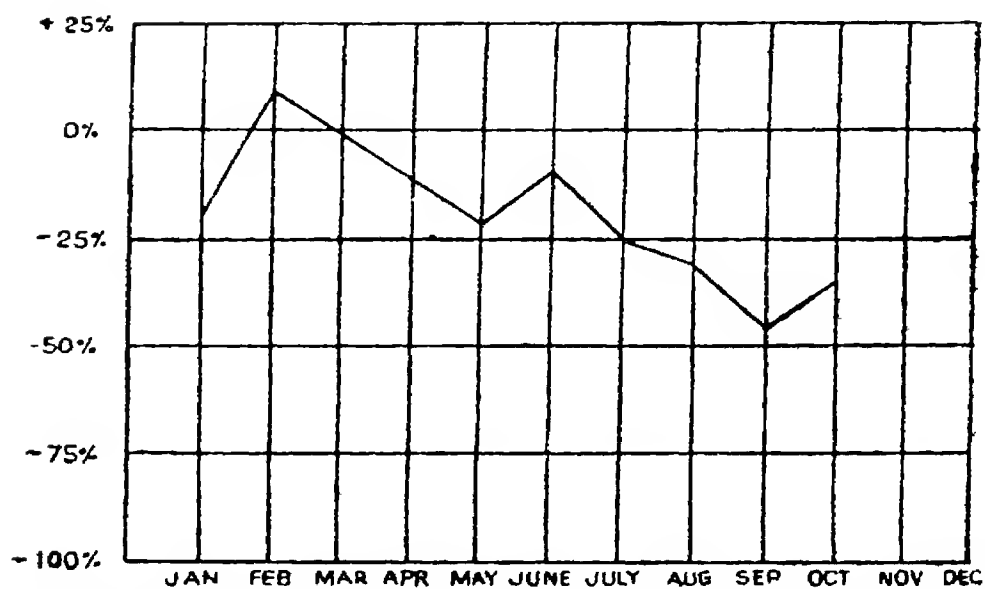
In this case the decline is due to a two-fold factor, viz., general boycott of all British goods and the effect of the prohibition movement which is a part of the national programme adopted by the Indian National Congress. It should be remembered, however, that among the consumers are non-Indians and the declines cannot therefore be as heavy as they might have been. The percentage declines are given in Table T and illustrated on Sheet XV.

SHEET XIV



**Percentage decline in British Soaps Imports During
1930—Compared with 1929 figures**

SHEET XV



**Percentage decline in British Spirit Imports During
1930—Compared with 1929 figures**

TABLE T

British Spirit Import

| Month | | Value |
|-----------|---------|--------------------------|
| January | 1929 | 15,40 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 11,98 „ |
| | Decline | 22.2% (denotes increase) |
| February | 1929 | 10,98 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 12,44 „ |
| | Decline | 13.3% (denotes increase) |
| March | 1929 | 12,68 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 12,82 „ |
| | Decline | 1.1% (denotes increase) |
| April | 1929 | 12,28 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 11,53 „ |
| | Decline | 6.1% |
| May | 1929 | 11,22 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 9,15 „ |
| | Decline | 17.6% |
| June | 1929 | 10,40 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 9,46 „ |
| | Decline | 9.0% |
| July | 1929 | 12,52 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 9,37 „ |
| | Decline | 25.2% |
| August | 1929 | 9,47 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 6,77 „ |
| | Decline | 28.5% |
| September | 1929 | 11,48 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 7,05 „ |
| | Decline | 38.6% |
| October | 1929 | 31,03 thousand Rs. |
| „ | 1930 | 8,57 „ |
| | Decline | 34.2% |

British Spirits form nearly two-thirds of the total import from all countries. Bengal consumes nearly 30% of that total. The usual figures are given in the following table.

**Total (British and non-British) Spirit, Imported into
Different parts of India (in lakhs of Rs.)**

| Territory | 1924-25 | 25-26 | 26-27 | 27-28 | 28-29 |
|---------------------------|---------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Bengal | 63 | 67 | 68 | 75 | 72 |
| Rest of India | 1,47 | 1,52 | 1,61 | 1,55 | 1,54 |
| Total | 2,10 | 2,19 | 2,29 | 2,30 | 2,26 |
| British Share of above | 1,31 | 1,35 | 1,36 | 1,36 | 1,36 |

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion

From the foregoing statistics it is abundantly clear that there have been considerable declines in the imports of every class of British commodities during the current fiscal year. It has also been shown that purely economic causes cannot be responsible for the present state of affairs. Thus goods, which are consumed mostly by Indians have suffered much more than others, consumed generally by non-Indians, who must have been affected equally by the present trade depression, and probably more since their incomes are derived from trade, whereas, some Indians have other sources of income such as investment in Government securities, the income from which has now increased. In the second place, it has been shown that in Bengal where the lessons of the last *Swadeshi Movement* have been thoroughly learnt and where the movement is carried on in an organised and determined manner, the boycott has been more effective than in the rest of India. In fact, in British official reports there were repeated reference to the political position in Bengal long before the inauguration of the present movement. To give only one instance, H. M. Senior Trade Commissioner for India, Burma and Ceylon openly stated in his official report for 1927-28 :—

“There is no doubt that the racial feeling among the younger generation of Indians, particularly in Bengal, is bound to have some influence on the sales of British goods.”

The question now arises what the future direction of trade will be, if and when the present Boycott is ultimately called off. There are two views. One is that the trade now lost by Great Britain cannot be recovered, even when nationalists are fully placated and all their demands met. For, it is pointed out that British trade was slowly but surely declining, and the present movement has merely hastened the inevitable end. It is therefore useless to try to regain the trade by political concessions.

As against this it is pointed out that if Britain is given breathing time, she can certainly recognise her commercial and industrial methods so as to suit the present changed conditions and thus compete successfully with her rivals in Indian Trade. When there is no antipathy against British as such, surely by offering to sell goods of better quality at a cheaper price, British manufacturers will be able to oust German, Japanese, American and other goods from the Indian Market.

Both are extreme views and the truth probably lies midway. In the case of commodities, which are now being manufactured in India, probably the Indian market is permanently closed to non-Indian goods. But in the case of others, British goods will have the same chance as non-British goods if and when the present movement is called off. At the same time, the possibility of a protective tariff against non-Indian goods, including British goods, cannot be entirely ruled out. Nor must it be inferred that the difficulty will be solved when British factories are transplanted on the Indian soil, and the goods now imported are manufactured in India with the help of Indian labour. The cases of cotton and woollen mills started in India with British capital under British control and predominantly British in personnel may be recalled in this connection. There is as effective a boycott against their products (e. g. ; those of Elgin, Dhariwal and Lalimli Mills) as against imported goods.

Thus the future is shrouded in obscurity. The present movement is not entirely political ; it is a higher and an ethical aspect, although it may at times be lost sight of by officials and their apologists. There are many Indians, who feel that they cannot make the pure sacrifice for their country. There are some again, who feel that resistance even against 'lawless laws'* is unconstitutional and is subversive of orderly Government. There are others again, who feel that antipathy against the imports from a particular country endangers hatred which must be eschewed as evil in itself. But they all agree in the belief that they should make some common sacrifice for the cause of their country and that could best be done by religiously encouraging Swadeshi. When one buys an indigenous product, probably of worse quality or at a higher price than the

* It was Deshabandhu C. R. Das, who coined this beautiful phrase.

imported product, he does this, for the good of the nation as a whole. It is these little conscious acts of self sacrifice which have contributed to weld Indians into a nation, inspite of their superficial differences. It is for this reason that many Indian nationalists, prefer *Swadeshi* to protection which, they agree, cannot give the same impetus to efficiency and economy or the same inspiration to national endeavour as "*Swadeshi*" can. According to them, there must be free and unrestricted competitions with imported goods in order that on the one hand Indian manufacturers may not slacken their efforts at constant improvement and on the other, Indian consumers may know and feel what sacrifice they are making in the interests of the nation. As against this, there is the view that when an industry is in its infancy, it has to be helped in its upward growth by artificial and in the shape of protective tariff.

In either case, it will be clear that if and when boycott is called off *Swadeshi* will stay and will be adhered to religiously by most people. As the same time, with the rapid industrialisation of India, her buying power will be proportionately widened, and there will be a demand for imported goods, in addition to all indigenous products. Under a fully national Government, agriculture also will no longer remain in the present depressed state. There will be a demand for agricultural machinery and through the adoption of scientific methods the agricultural wealth of the country will be increased and as a result there will be an augmentation of India's buying power.

In the midst of these uncertainties two things stand out as inevitable. In the first place, the growth of nationalism in India will have a profound influence on her economic and industrial development. At the same time, it is equally true that nothing can happen in India which will give to go by to the general laws of economics and international trade. In the long run in the field of international commerce. India will require the aid of the outside world as much as the world will have need of India.

